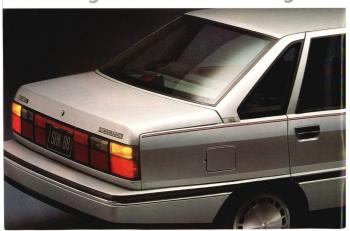


It has more combined passenger and cargo room than any car BMW makes. It has more standard horsepower than the Nissan 200 SX. It has more rear seat legroom than Mercedes-Benz 560 SEL. It has a longer wheelbase than Audi 4000. It has more trunk room than Buick Somerset. The wagon has more cargo room than Volkswagen



Quantum wagon. It's about the same size outside as a Honda Accord, and it's priced at least \$1,000\* less than the Accord, Mazda 626 or Toyota Camry. It comes standard with tinted glass, tilt steering, AM/FM ETR stereo and one of the best newcar warranties\*\* It's the 1988 anywhere. Renault Medallion. \$\ightarrow\$

\*Comparison based on Manufacturer's Published Suggested Retail Price for high line models, excluding title, taxes and destination charges. Standard



# Justice for all?

The right to sue is as essential to a free and fair country as any right guaranteed in the Constitution.

But when a woman riding in an automobile spills hot coffee on her lap, then sues the restaurant where she bought the coffee, something is wrong.

And when a man can drag a liquor company into court because he has become an alcoholic, something is wrong.

Americans have a strong foundation for resolving disputes. Our civil justice system has served us well for many years. But the systems original purposes have become distorted with the passage of time.

Our civil justice system was created to balance individual rights with society's needs. But it has strayed from this objective.

It used to provide an efficient way for the injured to be compensated. Now, too often, it is intolerably slow—and costly.

It used to make judgments primarily based on fault. Now, too often, it makes judgments based on who can pay when something goes wrong.

And the system used to compensate people fairly when they were injured by someone else's wrongful act. Now, too often, it can hand out big awards that have no logical relationship to the injuries suffered.

Our civil justice system is bloated with unnecessary costs and delay played without

clear rules, and capable of producing verdicts that truly offend the conscience. But Americans have a demonstrated capacity to fix things that go wrong. We've been doing it for 200 years.

We can restore balance to this system. Public demand has put this on the agenda for

change in state after state. I hope you will join me in working for meaningful reform of our civil justice system.

"Our civil justice system is bloated with unnecessary costs and delay, played without clear rules, and capable of producing verdicts that truly offend the conscience."

> William O. Bailey Vice Chairman Ætna Life & Casualty 151 Farmington Ave. Hartford, CT 06156

#### COVER: U2, a high-flying band with a conscience, offers rock for the '80s

Their latest album just hit No. 1, their concert tour is the hottest since Springsteen's, but U2's blitz has an impact all its own. They have "great songs and great heart," and more: these four musicians from Ireland also draw crowds with their lyrical insistence that rock and social commitment are inseparable. As one of their songs puts it, there are "new dreams tonight," See MUSIC.



#### **NATION:** Gorbachev tantalizes the U.S. with a zero-option arms proposal

The Reagan Administration considers the Soviet leader's proposal for eliminating nuclear missiles from Europe. ▶ How the zero option grew from a leftist slogan to the main plank of an arms-control agreement. > Gary Hart, lone political warrior. officially enters the 1988 race. > Florida prepares for new taxes, while a Texas town, tired of fighting city hall, eliminates it.



#### **WORLD: Embattled South Africa tries** 36 a new crackdown, but protests grow

As national elections approach, the Botha government threatens to strike at neighboring countries and bans demonstrations calling for the release of political prisoners. But a public outcry forces Pretoria to beat a strategic retreat. > Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone's party suffers its worst setback in 30 years. ▶ A longsuppressed Soviet novel recalls the horrors of the Stalin era.



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**Economy & Business Medicine** Texaco is in bankruptcy, but the slugfest with Pennzoil goes on. ▶ A drug bust on Wall Street. > Fragile recovery in the Philippines.

#### Living

Beverly Hills has prohibited smoking in restaurants, prompting some angry huffing and puffing from the posh city's nicotine lovers.

Books A thriller and a poignant satire explore the advantages and liabilities of being invisible. ▶ Mary McCarthy remembers How I Grew.

A leading New York

the death of Andy

on AIDS in women.

hospital is embroiled in

Warhol. ▶ A new report

controversy surrounding

#### 66 Sport

Baseball shakes off its sad start, especially in Milwaukee, where a pair of strangers named Trebelhorn and Nieves lift the Brewers.

#### Art

The disputed cleaning of the Sistine Chapel frescoes is not spoiling Michelangelo but revealing his true-and colorful-intentions.

#### 71 Law

Video

Precise federal sentencing standards will limit judges but worsen prison crowding. > CIA Protester Amy Carter goes free.

From Bob Goldthwait

beat, innovative comics

are thriving on cable.

▶ The last roll call for

Hill Street Rlues

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9 Letters

15 American Scene

#### to Garry Shandling, off-Cover:

Photograph by Neal Preston-Camera 5. Lettering by Ulf Skogsbergh

THE ISSN 004.07-21/13 is published needy for \$58.2 Aper year. by Time inc. Time inc. Time inc. The issue in Early Residential Reckelellar Center, New York, N.Y., 100(20) 3333, N.L. Nicolai Jr. Perselect. General. Set. Transvers William Red Catellar Center, Secretary Secretary

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SKIPPED LUNCHES MISSED DINNERS.
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HERE, THE AFTERNOON'S ONLY FACE TO FACE NEGOTIATION IS WITH A GREEN ANGELFISH SWIMMING ALONG A CORAL REEF.

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#### A Letter from the Publisher

hough his name is rarely on any single story in the magazine, the signature of TIME's managing editor is on every issue. As supervising architect, he shapes and coordinates the mix of elements that go into our pages, from the design and photographs to the reporting and writing. That demanding task is now changing hands. Last week Time Inc. Editor in Chief Henry Anatole Grunwald, who will retire at year's end, announced that the company's board of directors has, on his recommendation, chosen as his successor TIME Managing

Editor Jason McManus, 53. Taking McManus' place beginning May 4 and becoming the magazine's twelfth managing editor will be Henry Muller, 40, currently TIME's chief of correspondents

During McManus' all too brief 19 months in command at TIME, the magazine was particularly praised for last year's American Best special issue, the creation of an Ethics section, the pioneering application of new technology to provide late coverage of the breakdown of the Iceland summit, and the remarkable use of photography in the Statue of Liberty Centennial issue, including the largest picture ever to appear in TIME, a four-page foldout of the fireworks over New York harbor. For



Editors McManus and Muller last week

such achievements last year, the magazine is again one of the five finalists for a National Magazine Award for general excellence, having won the award only two

years ago.

Muller, who has directed TIME's reporting under McManus and frequently sat in editing for him, first worked for the magazine as a stringer, when he was an undergraduate at Stanford University. Reared in Switzerland until age 6, when he and his family moved to San Francisco, Muller joined TIME in 1971 as a correspondent in Canada. He next served in Brussels as European

economic correspondent and in Paris as bureau chief before coming to New York as a writer in 1981. He became senior editor of the World section and, last year, chief of correspondents and an assistant managing editor. Presiding over the much acclaimed 1985 special issue devoted to immigrants, Muller brought the personal insight afforded by his heritage, and he now becomes the second immigrant, after the Vienna-born Grunwald, to lead TIME.

Robert L Miller



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#### Letters

#### **Preachers Awry**

To the Editors:

I do not normally take pleasure in the troubles of others, but I cannot help feeling some satisfaction in hearing about the problems of televangelists like Jim Bakker (ReLIGION, April 61. These preachers, whose greatest talent is their money, have for many years been harshly judgmental and self-righteous about how

others behave. It is nice to see them get a

dose of their own medicine.

Alan L. Light
Moline, Ill.



Your article "TV's Unholy Row" recalled to mind an admonition by St. Jerome: "Avoid as you would the plague a clergyman who is also a man of business." Dick Dallager Winona, Miron.

The press is focusing all its attention on the scandal but seldom mentions the various good works these ministries perform. Much of the money the preachers raise is spent here and abroad for children, leper homes, emergency aid and self-help programs.

Mary Ollikainen Benicia, Calif.

I will never understand why people are so willing to send money to television preachers when their neighborhood churches are desperate for help. It is the local minister who will baptize, marry and bury you. He is the one who serves you, and he needs to survive.

\*\*Thelma K. Jones\*\*

Thelma K. Jones\*\*

Norfolk, Va.

How can Christians see any possible similarity between today's flashy, highliving, power-hungry TV evangelists and Jesus of Nazareth? If Christ were alive today, he would throw every one of them out of the temple.

Irene E. Guzauskas Sacramento

#### LLCI 3

Sex, blackmail, takeover struggles, millions of dollars, drugs, luxury cars and corporate jets. It is hard to believe I am reading about Christian evangelists and not the plot line for *Dallas*.

Robert Forman Toledo

#### **Embassy Affairs**

As a reservist in the U.S. Navy, I am hocked that something like the espionage fiasco in the Moscow embassy could happen (NATION, April 61, Who is responsible for allowing Corporal Bracy and Sergeant Lonetree to continue the love affairs they are charged with carrying on? And why was Bracy not reassigned immediately after he was demoted it on with Soviet citizens? Now that these two young men have damaged the pride and spirit of the Marine Corps, they should be punished accordingly. Give them the death penalty.

Karen B. Weiss Moorpark, Calif.

The spy scandal at the Moscow embassy highlights the long-festering decay in Government middle management in both the military and civil service. Frequent but random visits at night and on weekends by security officers and the Marine commander would have rendered it impossible for the Soviet agents to make clandestine visits during off-hours.

Ernest A. Izzard Ashland, Mass.

It is incredible that two young Marines should have access to such highly secret places and confidential material. I am generally pro-American, but incidents like that taking place at the Moscow embassy make me very angry. I say, America, you must get tougher with your Marines. Train them thoroughly and use more foresight when appointing them. Above all, do not be so naive.

Clea Fuchs Donzdorf, West Germany

There is nothing new about American military personnel who possess access to sensitive information going against security regulations and fraternizing with nationals while overseas. I saw plenty of it during the more than two years I spent abroad with the military. Those who were in command typically failed to enforce regulations rigorously.

Richard H. Reiss Huntington, N.Y.

#### Affirming Affirmative Action

The Supreme Court's decision that allows preferential treatment for women and minorities in affirmative-action programs is a license for anarchy [NATION, April 6]. If the injunction "You shall not discriminate on the basis of sex" means

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Texas:

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Virginia:





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Letters

"You shall discriminate on the basis of sex," there is not one law in the land that has any meaning.

H. Anthony Medley Marina Del Rey, Calif.

How can preferential treatment for any individual or class be considered just? This ruling contradicts the concept of equal opportunity.

John F. Sammel Bedford, Pa.

How nice. "For the first time the Supreme Court explicitly ruled that women as well as blacks and other minorities can receive preferential treatment." Women and minorities do not want preferential treatment. We want to be treated fairly and as equals.

Carol L. Poland Erma, N.J.

#### Sofaer and the Senate

I am sure you will appreciate that I would disagree with many of the characterizations in your article on me INATION, April 61. I want especially to set the record straight on one assertion that distorts what I stated to the Senate Foreign Relations and Judiciary committees on the question of the legal effect of the Senate's ratification record.

You say that I "claimed that nothing the Administration tells the Senate during the ratification process is binding." My testimony, however, was addressed to the effect of the Senate's ratification record on international obligations toward the other party to a treaty, not the obligations of the President toward the Senate under the U.S. constitutional structure. In particular, I was addressing a proposal by Senator Joseph Biden that would define as the meaning of a "treaty" what the Senate understood it to be. The Soviet Union is not bound by what is said in internal U.S. ratification proceedings, just as we are not and would never agree to be bound by what is said in internal Soviet ratification proceedings

Abraham D. Sofaer The Legal Adviser U.S. Department of State Washington

Judge Sofaer has contributed a "reinterpretation" of the Antibalisis: Missile Missile in Treaty of 1972 that would so distort the agreement as to destroy it. The Senate's extensive ratification record reveals no ambiguity. All those who were involved negotiators and Senators—understood the ABM treaty to mean there would be a permanent ban on the development of all mobile and squeez-based AIM systems.

To skirt this reality and cast doubt on what the Soviets have accepted, Sofaer now asserts that the treaty's meaning is to be found in a secret "negotiating record." Sofaer's theory would also nullify the Senate's constitutional role in treaty making

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Roger Rosenblatt Senior Writer, TIME

#### Letters

and, if applied, would ultimately damage the presidency by rendering the Senate reluctant to approve agreements. I have consulted with leading constitutional scholars to draft my Senate Resolution 167, now pending. It reads that "during the period in which a treaty is in force, the meaning of that treaty is what treaty is what the Senate understands the treaty to mean when it gives its advice and consent..."

Joseph R. Biden Jr. U.S. Senator, Delaware Washington

#### **Maternal Emotions**

As someone who early on fell deeply for Mary Beth Whitehead in her agony. I for Mary Beth Whitehead in her agony and a marateful for Roger Rosenblatt's essay. "Baby M.—Emotions for Sale' (ESSAY, April 6]. Whitehead began this painful doysey on a mistaken premise that she could surmount her deep maternal feelings. In the end, she evolved into a true modern-day heroine with the strength to buck a flawed system and endure personal malignment in order to show the perils of human folls:

Joan Wile New York City

I must ask how Rosenblatt could believe Whitehead did not take the emotion of carrying and bearing a child into account when she made her agreement with the Sterns. After all, she had already given birth to two other children before she conceived Melissa.

Joanne McClain Basking Ridge, N.J.

Procreation is sacred and personal and needs protection from individuals who would manipulate life forces as if man were a barnyard animal. A dark cloud hovers over embryo research. Will there be another attempt to create Hitler's "master race"? Will family trees sprout portraits of laboratory tubes?

Richard Filippi Santa Clara, Calif.

I gave my child up for adoption in 1974, when she was five years old, Most of my thoughts and feelings at that time were centered on my child and not my-self. While I agree with those who say I had a decision and must honor it, I disagree with those who say I knew what I was doing. The world should know—especially those people involved in surricular than the same of the same

Mary Cunningham San Diego

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

"I was giving a seminar on network management in Atlanta. My topic was making SNA work without IBM. Anyway, the room was filled with MIS guys who didn't believe it could happen and they wondered why I was there. And so I showed them it has happened with one of the

biggest SNA networks in the world and I spelled it out. No IBM mainframe...no IBM controllers...no



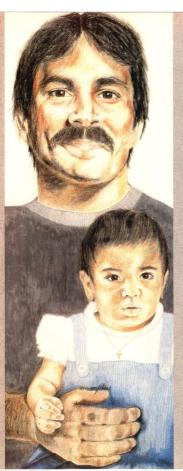
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the Wang VS—I didn't even have to talk to them about all the applications they were running. I just said, 'This, ladies and gentlemen, is how Wang can make standards work for you and bring your network alive today.' AND...blink...blink... blink. I could practically see the lightbulbs go on over their heads."





# "For the poor you have always with you..."

John 12.8

The Bible tells us there will always be poor people. But nowhere do the Scriptures say that the poor should not receive treatment when they are sick or injured. Indeed, Christ admonished his disciples to "cure the sick and heal the leprous."

Today, leprosy is pretty much a thing of the past, at least in America. But poverty and illness are still with us. And Christ's call is still a challenge to us.

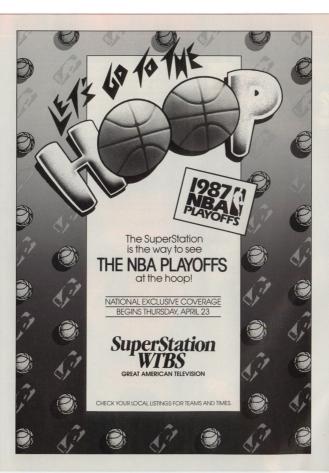
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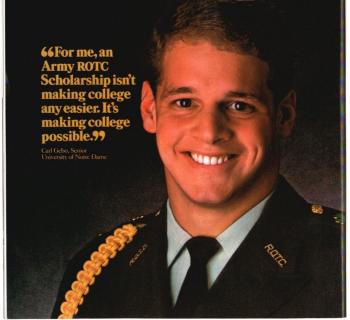


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#### **American Scene**









the "Football House" hanging over hillside; the "Silo House"; and the "Snail House"

build these unusual structures themselves.

#### In Virginia: Homes with Gusto

You don't see many trailers like Steve Badanes' 1956 silver Airstream anymore. Round and compact, it is one of those sleek design achievements of the 1950s that can make people nostalgic for tackiness. Badanes even travels with a plastic pink flamingo that he props outside the door wherever he parks. Most recently, the trailer-and flamingo-was parked in a wooded lot of a wealthy northern Virginia suburb while serving as home for Badanes, his itinerant opera-singing girlfriend Donna Walter, and their dog Floyd Bite (after Frank Lloyd Wright). But if a tacky trailer in an expensive Colonial suburb seems a little out of place to you, consider what Badanes and his three colleagues, architect-builders who call themselves the Jersey Devil. were constructing on the same lot: a multimillion-dollar house that's shaped like an overgrown hero sandwich.

"We didn't set out to make it look like a hoagie," says Badanes, appearing only slightly guilty about it all. "It just sort of turned out that way. But I have to admit it's kind of ironic. The guy's a heart surgeon, and we go and build him a house that looks like a cholesterol lunch."

Badanes clearly enjoys the joke. In fact, such irreverence is his group's trademark. Born at Princeton University during the counterculture days of the 1960s, the Jersey Devil is a traveling band of renegade architects who rejected standard careers to design the really far out and then, in an even more radical break with modern architectural practice, get out the saws, hammers and nails and

Since their first project, a child's play structure built to resemble an enormous cockroach, they've painstakingly assembled twelve houses, from San Francisco to New Hampshire, parking tents, trailers or makeshift cardboard homes on site so they could live there as they worked, encouraging clients to pick up hammers and join them on weekends, and throwing parties in partly built houses to celebrate the completion of a foundation or their topping off of a roof. No, the Jersey Devil, which takes its name from a mythical creature said to threaten people in New Jersey's Pine Barrens, is no ordinary architectural firm. But don't get them wrong. Badanes, Jim Adamson, Greg Torchio and John Ringel are serious about what they do, and say it is in the best tradition of the American pioneer spirit

"When all of us went to architecture school, we thought being an architect had something to do with building," says Badanes, 43, while sitting with the others in the Jersey Devil office trailer parked just opposite his Airstream. "But most architects these days sit in their offices, design their places down to the last details and then hand the plans over to be built by someone else. Now I ask you, which approach do you think would make for better results? Do you sit in your office and look up stock answers in your books? Or do you move to the guy's property, immerse yourself in that piece of land, take your time, and do a one-off piece of art? In the early days, that's how buildings were made. Where did we go wrong?"

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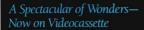
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-SMITHSONIAN



#### American Scene

The atmosphere inside the office trailer is a bit like that inside a college dorm room. On one wall is an autographed picture of the transvestite movie star Divine; on another, a 1950s vintage ad for the Mysto Erector Set ("Hello boys, what are you building?" says a stereotypical father to his stereotypical sons, "Come, Dad, come look!"). Rock music is blaring out of a radio that is nowhere in sight, and evervwhere there are pictures of some of the group's other projects: the "Football House." built a quarter of a mile from California's San Andreas Fault and shaped like a football, they say, so that if a quake comes, the house will simply roll down the hill end over end. And the "Helmet House," built for a New Hampshire man whom Badanes describes as having a "kind of Don Quixote personality." That house, says the clipping next to it, won the 1978 Enquirer Weird Home award.

s we understand it, the change happened sometime around the end of the last century," says Ringel, a dark-bearded character who looks a trifle like the Grateful Dead's Jerry Garcia. "Up until then, architects built their own stuff, and they traveled around just like we do. But with the Industrial Revolution, the demand grew to build more buildings faster. Most architects gave up building and stuck to design.

"Hell," says Badanes, "the American Institute of Architects decided in 1909 to ban architects from building. Now that tells you where their heads were at. But we found an easy way around that one: we just never applied for a license.

"The fact is," says Adamson, "that whatever the A.I.A. or the Industrial Revolution did, it stifled the creativity of American home design. Just look at the standard American suburb. All the houses look like they were cut out of a cookie cutter. That may be cost efficient, but it has no relation to the way we live today.

"What's worse," says Badanes, as he props his feet on a drafting table, "is that as Americans we've shown no interest in creating and supporting an architecture of our own. Sure, that Colonial stuff was great, but it was all built off European ideas. Now if I had a dollar for every architecture lecture where they show pictures of Rome, I'd be a rich man. And then they show you a crappy picture of an American cityscape or a picture of an American family smoking up their backyard with a barbecue; the message, of course, being 'Why can't we be more like Europe?' But I think we should ask, 'Why

can't we be more like America?" Jersey Devil clients are a special breed. For one, they have to accept the notion that their dream house will be built with more than a little improvisation, "Hell, sometimes we don't even use any plans," says Ringel. Noting that practice, one client took out life insurance on Badanes, aware that most of the design for the house was in the architect's head. Then, too, hiring the

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Jersey Devil takes a bit of exhibitionism. "To our clients, a house is more than just another box on a street," says Torchio. "It is a means of self-expression."

Today the group is putting the finishing touches on the Hoagie, built for a family out to express itself in a big way. Besides the twelve-room, 10,000-sq.-ft. house, the complex includes a separate guesthouse and separate caretaker's house (both shaped like smaller hoagies), maid's quarters and a swimming pool. There's even a gift-wrapping room."Hey, don't look at me," says Badanes. "The guy's got a lot of kids and a lot of birthday parties." But right now, the dilemma is over what car grille to order for the fireplace in the living room. "I'm looking for a '60s Chrysler," says Badanes, "but I could live with a '51 Buick if I could hinge all that stuff." He points to a picture of the Buick's metalwork front. "Remember," says Adamson, "the guy wants headlights that work!"

The car-grille fireplace isn't the house's only unusual feature: the "media room" has been modeled after an old Wurlitzer jukebox, and until the client vetoed it, the pool was planned to resemble an anatomical heart. "I guess it was just too close to the real thing," says Badanes. "If you look at hearts all day, maybe the last thing you want to do is come home

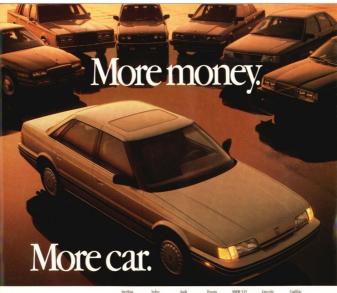
and go swimming in one.

With the Hoagie in order, the Jersey Devil is already dreaming of new challenges. Adamson is eager to build a lobster farm in South Carolina, and a college in Seattle wants them to build a floating guesthouse in Puget Sound. But it is Cleveland's proposed new Rock and Roll Hall of Fame that really gets the Jersey Devil's juices flowing. "If I have a dream commission, it is to design the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame," says Badanes, mocking the manner of a politician at a press conference. His colleagues give him a rousing round of applause. "I mean, could you imagine a better job? We could do the walls in black pressed vinyl. And there'd be a lot of black-light posters around everywhere. Of course, we'd have to listen to records for months before tackling it. Research, gentlemen, research. And then, who knows? Maybe we'd even make the thing in the shape of a pair of By Todd Brewster



The Devil's "Helmet House

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The Kremlin leader and Secretary of State George Shultz bantering in front of reporters and aides before their Moscow meeting last week

#### **Nation**

TIME/APRIL 27, 1987

# Now, Super-Zero?

#### Gorbachev makes NATO an offer it can't easily refuse

hat are you afraid of?" | asked Mikhail Gorbachev. Doubtless the Soviet leader knew perfectly well why his visitor, Secretary of State George Shultz, could not immediately reply to his newest arms-control bombshell: having unnerved NATO allies when Ronald Reagan traded blue-sky proposals with Gorbachev at the Revkjavík summit, the U.S. was determined this time to answer the Soviets only after fully consulting with the West Europeans. But Gorbachev and his subordinates could not resist taunting Shultz for seeming diffident about an offer that, on its

face, not only met but topped American terms for a part to take nuclear missiles out of Europe and open the way for another summit this fall in Washington. After Shultz's three-day mission to Moscow had ended last week, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov stuck the needle in deeper, If U.S. negotiators want an agreement, said he, "they must be prepared to meet their own proposals."

Actually, the needling might have been more accurately directed at America's European allies. It is they, rather than the U.S., that are most uneasy at the turn of events. After years of publicly decrying the proliferation of nuclear weapons on their

sell, some Europeaus may be reminded of Ocear Wildes' dictum: "When the gods wish to punish us, they answer our pray-ser." To the West's discomfort, Gorbachev is zestfully playing a role no previous Soviet leader has essayed: the man who keeps leader has been compared to be selled to have been dealer to be selled to have been dealer to be selled to have been an under missies in Europe, and then by spection to make sure the missies are gone. When the Western nations pointed out that this would still leave the Soviets with a distinct advantage in shorter-range mis-

siles, Gorbachev outmaneuvered them with yet another concession.

Before Shultz's trip to Moscow, Washington's insistence on strict verification looked like a potential stumbling block to a treaty. Until Gorbachev, the Soviets had never been willing to seriously consider the idea of foreigners poking around their missile sites, and it had remained unclear how far the new leader would go. But Gorbachev not only indicated approval of American ideas, he tried last week to make them sound as if they were his own. According to the Soviet news agency TASS, he told Shultz, "We shall be demanding verification and inspection every-

where: on the sites of missiles' dismantling, on the sites of their elimination, at ranges and military bases, including third countries, at depots and plants."

Shultz went to Moscow last week to argue that an agreement on intermediaterange (600 miles to 3,400 miles) missiles must do something to redress the disparity in shorter-range launchers, those with a range of 300 miles to 600 miles. The U.S. proposal: freeze the number of Soviet missiles and let the U.S. install an equal amount in Europe.

Gorbachev replied by proposing what some Europeans called a "super-zero option". For once, TASS carried the most complete account of his talks with Shultz. In effect, Gorbaches said, We want to more in. So let's equalize once more at zero: we will get rid of all our European borter-range missiles if the U.S. piedges not to bring any such weapons into the Continent. He implied this would be done within a year of Senate ratification of a office of the Content of the minight dish would be done within a year of Senate ratification of a forcest weapons.

Clearly taken by surprise, Shultz replied that such sweeping proposals must be discussed with American allies in Western Europe, whose security is at stake. But the more he and President Reagan pondered Gorbachev's offer, the more tempting it seemed. Meeting with the press back in the U.S. on Thursday night, after briefing the vacationing Reagan at the President's California ranch, Shultz asserted, "If we are placed in a box, it's a wonderful box to be in . . . We have been working from day one to bring about radical reductions in these weapons systems." Earlier, Reagan summarized Shultz's report this way: "All I heard today is in the direction I want to go in.

But the governments of most of America's European allies do not at all think Gorbachev's direction is the way to go. They are terrified that Soviet cold-turkey proposals could, in the words NATO'S Supreme Commander in Europe. Bernard Rogers, make the Continent age for conventional war after the Continent and the Continent of th



How can the West deal with a man who keeps saying yes?

Warsaw Pact invasion. If all the nukes were gone, the Soviets might be deterred from invading Europe only if they could be convinced that the U.S. would fire its intercontinental missiles in response, touching off a holocaust. And whether the Kremlin believes the U.S. would do so, many West Europeans do not.

he European governments will go along with elimination of intermehave little choice: they committed 
themselves to the zero option when Reagan proposed it in 1981 and nobody 
thought the U.S.S.R. would ever accept. 
But their fear is that scrapping both intermediate- and shorter-frange missile 
arrization of European due total demaclearrization of European due total demacle-

Sure enough. Gorbachev raised the subject of denuclearization with Shultz. He proposed that after destroying intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the superpowers negotiate about getting rid of short-range (under 300 miles) missiles and even battlefield nuclear weapons (for example, nuclear artillery shells). Shultz would not go that far. Asked in California if tactical nukes are on the negotiating table, the Secretary flatly answered no. He explained that "in order to have the ability to respond flexibly to any aggression from the Warsaw Pact forces, we have to have the different forces to be flexible with, and we will keep them.

Foreign Ministers of the NATO countries meeting with Shultz in Brussels on Thursday seemed less than reassured. Leaving the session, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti admitted "there is fear of global denuclearization without adequate countermeasures," although his government made it plain that it supported the new approach. A French TV news analyst summed up a strong current of opinion in his country: "Zero option, yes. Double zero and triple zero, no." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, during her visit to Moscow three weeks ago, told Gorbachev that a "world without nuclear weapons would be less stable and

The President at his California ranch after hearing Shultz's report on INF talks

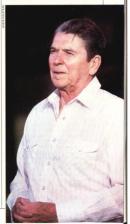
more dangerous for all of us." Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark said he had found "obvious differences" at the Brussels meeting, "not just between the U.S. and Europe but between Europe and Europe."

and Europe."

Monetheless, Shuliz asserted in Brussels that "we have before the present and the present and the present agreement, and we have the basic elements in place." At week's end White House sources were speculating about a Gorbachev wisit to the U.S. to attend a summit conference with Reagan in September or October. That would imply a pact ready for significant would not come otherwise.

Bantering with reporters before his dy-hour meeting with Stulze in the Kremlin on Tuesday, Gorbachev remarked, "Generally, without reason I do not go anywhere, particularly to America. This cannot be just an outing, "Shultz at that point pulled an envelope out of his pocket and told Gorbachev, "You're welcome to come. I have a letter from the President, and its says so."

The Soviets were less coy when Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze went into private talks with Shultz According to American sources, the Soviets brought up the subject of a summit four times. They did not, however, attempt to set a date, to the embarrassment of White House Chief of



Staff Howard Baker, who declared early in the week that he "would not be surpised" if Shultz came home with a summit scheduled. Even so, Shultz and Shevardnadze both indicated that a summit, and by implication a missile agreement, is a strong prospect later this year.

ndeed, the more difficult negotiations may occur not between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. but between the U.S. and Western Europe-or perhaps among the Europeans themselves. Those who fear an American "decoupling" from the defense of Europe are in a box, and unlike Shultz they do not find it wonderful. The idea of a denuclearized continent is far from unpopular with a European public nervous about becoming the first targets in a nuclear war. With rare exceptions such as Thatcher, no leader dares argue openly that getting rid of U.S. nuclear missiles is a bad idea. Still less will anyone voice another reason for hanging on to American nuclear weapons: they give Europe a cheap means of avoiding the expenditures that would be necessary to build a conventional force capable of holding off the Warsaw Pact on the ground. For that matter, the U.S. has never been willing to spend the money required to support a nonnuclear defense of Europe.

Some U.S. experts, notably former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, also worry about a lessening of the American commitment to defend Europe. Says Kissinger: "The so-called zero option . . . has little utility for arms control; it does represent an important step in decoupling Europe from the U.S. politically." To other Americans, this fear is exaggerated. They point out that plenty of American nuclear weapons, carried by bombers or launched by submarines, would be left for the defense of Europe. The independent British and French nuclear forces, which are not involved in the INF negotiations, would be left intact. Further, these experts argue, the presence of 325,000 American troops in Western Europe guarantees that the U.S. would fight a Soviet invasion, with nuclear warheads if necessary. Says former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger: "Denuclearization of Europe is a false issue."

Governments in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands in particular could face a pacifist backlash if they blocked a Soviet-American agreement to get rid of shorter-range missiles. At present the Soviets have about 130 shorter-range weapons-some 50 in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, the rest in the western U.S.S.R. The U.S. has none at all it controls the warheads for 72 shorter-range Pershing 1As in West Germany, but these are nonetheless considered German missiles, not subject to a U.S.-Soviet agreement. Thus if Gorbachev's latest proposal is rejected, the numbers of U.S. and Soviet shorter-range nukes could be equalized only by installing new American missiles where there are none now. That would risk a rerun of the antimissile and anti-U.S., demonstrations that exploded through Western Europe before American intermediaterange weapons were installed.

beginning in late 1983.

The Europeans feel under pressure to make up their minosquickly on Gorbachev's proposals. U.S. Soviet INF negotiations resume in Geneva on Thursday, and the U.S. does not want to keep Moscow waiting long for an answer. A NATO policy-planning group will convene this week of the convene this week of the coordinated response. Policy coordinated response. Policy coordinated response.

planners hope to reach agreement on a European position by mid-May, mostly because they think the U.S. is in no mood to wait beyond then. Some fear that the Reagan Administration wants to hurry into an agreement that would restore much of the luster the President lost with Iranscam.

The most likely prospect is that the Europeans will try to get the U.S. to make a counteroffer to the Soviet proposals. Some idea of what that might be comes from

### A TALE OF

#### REYKJAVIK

Long-Range or Strategic Arsenals The U.S. and Soviet Union agreed that

within five years they would reduce total warheads to 6,000 and launchers to 1,600 with Soviets agreeing to "significant" cuts in heavy ICBMs.

Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF)
Both sides agreed to remove all the INF
missiles in Europe. The Soviets would be
allowed to keep 100 medium-range
warheads in Asia, the Americans to station
100 warheads inside the U.S. Here, too, the
Soviets wanted to tie the deal to limits on

space-based defenses.

Defensive Systems

Both sides proposed adhering to the ABM treaty for another ten years, but could not agree on definitions of permissible research



West Germany. The government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has some special anxieties. At present Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles can hit almost any country in Western Europe. If they are removed, they consider that they are they country when the size of the size of the country part are aimed at only one NaTo country. West Germany. Thus the Germans fear that they will become more than ever the special, or even sole, Soviet target.

#### **Fallout from the Scandal**

When Secretary of State George Stutte phoned President Reagain from According to seek, the was forced to make his call from a special communications van flown over from the U.S. In the wasco of the charges that Marine guards had allowed Koß agents into the embassy, his cables to Washington were dispatched through a communications system that had been elaborately reworked to safeguard their encryption. The control of the co

The Secretary also toured the still unfinished chancery at the site of the new U.S. embasy and late told Western and Soviet correspondents. "We now find we have a honeycomb of listening devices" in the building's walls and structural columns. Investigators, however, have had only mixed success in locating bugs. They discovered reinforcing rods in five pillars that were apparently designed to serve as antennas. But after ripping into one wall with pneumatic drills in search of a suspicious object, workers found nothing more ominous than an empty beer can embedded in the concrete.

So far, more than 600 soldiers and civilian U.S. officials have been interrogated in a worldwide investigation of embassy security. Marine Commandant P.X. Kelley has endorsed an internal Corps memorandum suggesting that the Justice Department assist the Navy in its probe. The memor's rationale is that American civilians will soon by implicated and that military investigators are overburdened by the scope of the scandal.



#### MOSCOW

Long-Range or Strategic Arsenals Still in agreement on principle, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. disagree on limits for Soviet heavy

ICBMs. The Soviets want to tie missile reductions to restrictions on space-based defenses; U.S. would keep negotiations separate.

Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF)

The Soviets no longer insist on linking INF to an agreement on Star Wars or strategic offensive systems. They propose eliminating shorter-range missiles in Europe, and the U.S. seems tempted. But NATO allies may want the U.S. to retain the right to match the current Soviet deployment.

**Defensive Systems** 

Soviets offer some flexibility in laboratory testing but oppose any space-based tests; U.S. wants more extensive testing and would reduce the commitment to the ABM treaty to five years.



West Germans suggest two ideas: 1) demand that the Soviets destroy many of their under-300-mile-range missiles as well as longer-range types; 2) condition a missile deal on a Soviet commitment to reduce conventional forces in Europe. Says Volker Rühe, a Bundestag expert on defense policy and adviser to Kohl: "Things are too much concentrated on solely nuclear issues." Tying missile negotiations to conventional-arms cuts, however, risks drawing out the nuclear talks forever. U.S.-Soviet negotiations on conventional-force reductions in Europe have been droning on in Vienna for 13 years

A key problem for American and European negotiators in framing a response to Gorbachev's proposals is reading the Soviet leader's motives. One group sees Gorbachev as pursuing the old game of detaching the U.S. from its European allies and trying to turn West European public opinion against its own leaders. The Soviets, says Rühe, are offering to eliminate whole classes of nuclear weapons because "they have finally discovered where their real military advantages are-in the conventional field."

Other experts believe that Gorbachev is eager for a deal primarily because it would strengthen his hand against opponents of his economic and cultural reforms within the U.S.S.R. Gorbachev, says Cesare Merlini, president of the Institute for International Affairs in Rome, is thinking mostly of winning the "power struggle within the Kremlin."

A third school holds that Gorbachev simply means what he says: he wants an arms deal because it would make the world safer. Says one mid-level Soviet official: "He doesn't play by the old rules. The whole strategy of arms negotiations is changing:

bargaining chips don't work anymore. Gorbachev really thinks in a new way, and that is not just a slogan." Something like this view is echoed by a less biased observer: George Shultz. Talking to reporters in California about Gorbachev's latest offer. the Secretary mused, "Why are the Soviets doing this? I don't know. They say they want a less threatening and less nuclear world, and maybe you should take them at

Whatever his motives-and they are probably thoroughly mixed-Gorbachey obviously relishes taking the West by surprise. Last week the Soviets suggested that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. each hold a nuclear test on the other's territory as a means of improving procedures to verify an eventual test ban. The U.S. agreed in principle. Gorbachev also broadened slightly the definition of the research into the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative that would be permitted under a more comprehensive arms agreement. At Reykjavík Gorbachev had insisted on laboratory research only; to Shultz in Moscow he defined "laboratory research" as including tests of SDI components that could be conducted on the ground. That did not necessarily bring an agreement any closer. The U.S. insists on conducting tests in space also, and indeed on the right eventually to deploy SDI. Gorbachev has demanded that stern limits on SDI accompany any Soviet-American agreement on deep cuts in long-range nuclear missiles. and on that his position is unchanged.

uring his talks in Moscow, Shultz raised several other issues. In an interview on Soviet television, he repeatedly criticized the Kremlin for occupying Afghanistan. He pressed Gorbachev on human rights, particularly Jewish immigration. That irritated the Soviet leader, who approved a TASS commentary rebuking Shultz for attending a Passover Seder with a number of Soviet refuseniks. Gorbachev showed little flexibility on any of these matters.

But on INF and shorter-range missiles, Gorbachev has been changing bargaining offers with lightning speed. Some Americans wonder whether, by the time the U.S. and its European allies work out an answer to the Kremlin's latest proposals, Gorbachev may not have one or several new ones. As the U.S. and its allies consider a response, they must remain alert to the possibility, as Britain's Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe put it, that the "swiftness of the Soviet hand could deceive the Western eye." -By George J. Church. Reported by David Aikman with Shultz and

Christopher Redman/Brussels

Three Marine guards have been charged with espionage and one with fraternizing with Soviet women. Another Leatherneck suspected of spying has been recalled from his station in Brazil, where he was living with a Russian woman he met during a tour of duty at the Moscow embassy; he is currently being

held at the Marine base in Quantico, Va. As a result of such discoveries, the State Department has replaced five possibly tainted communications centers: in Moscow, Leningrad, Brasilia and two in Vienna, where the embassy was compromised twice by different Marine guards. The new units cost \$5 million

The Navy last week was having difficulty preparing cases against Sergeant Clayton Lonetree and Corporal Arnold Bracy, the two Marines whose confessions triggered the Lonetree after his Quantico hearing

scandal. The embassy guards have apparently repudiated or contradicted key sections of their initial statements, and much of the investigators' case against them rests on hearsay evidence and polygraph tests.

After two days of a pretrial hearing at Quantico to determine whether Lonetree should undergo a court-martial, the defendant's lawyers won

a 31/2-week postponement of the proceedings. As Lonetree emerged from the courtroom, he grinned broadly and gave the thumbs-up sign, an indication that a plea bargain may be in the works. Lonetree's chief attorney, William Kunstler, claimed the prosecution's witnesses "said nothing that hurt our client." Added Kunstler: "They have no direct evidence that ties or links him to any illegal activity.'



#### Nation



## **Slouching Toward an Arms Agreement**

How zero option grew from a slogan into the prelude for a summit

in the arcane, often confounding world of nuclear diplomacy, the zero option seems refreshingly simple the U.S. and the Soviet Union would define a certain category of weapons in a certain region of the world, then wise clean that particular corner of the slate. In the history of a slogging, controversial enterprise that the so-often meant merely regulating the bloated arcsnash of the superpowers rather than reducing them, the idea sounds innovartive and bold. It would appear to be not just arms control but a big weapons, soon there would be zero. Everyone can understand that, and most will approve Most, but not all.

The zero option has had a bizarre, irony-ridden career. Born as a made to their purposes by Reaganaut hard-liners in 1981, now adopted and turned to his own use by Mikhail Gorbachev, it may come to maturity at a summit later this year as the first arms-control agreement in nearly a decade—but also as the object of intense opposition.

At the heart of the debate is the ongoing attempt by the superpowers to manipulate each other's nightmares of war in order to maneuver for advantage in times of peace. The West has long wanted the Kremin to fear that a Soviet attack or Europe, even with conventional weapons, might provoke American nuclear relatation. That Fear, in turn, is supposed to deter the Soviets from bullying Western Europe militarily or throwing its considerable weight around politically.

NATO strategy has required that some American nuclear weapons be based in the territory of Western Europe, capable reaching targets inside the Soviet Union and guaranteeing that the U.S. would not just come to Europe's defense but would do so with nuclear weapons. The independent deterrents of Britain

and France by definition cannot function as an American trip wire, and U.S-based strategic weapons might is tout a war in Europe. U.S. short-range and battlefield weapons might blunt a Soviet bitixkrieg but cannot carry the war to the Soviet homeland. In the jargon of nukespeak, some Europe-based, intermediate-range American weapons are necessary to serve the cause of "Coupling" between the U.S. and its allies.

For more than two decades, the U.S. had some short-range missies in Europe, such as ballistic Pershing Is in West Germany. Coupling depended largely on intermediate-range, nuclearmed U.S. aircraft a bases on allies oil and on carriers patrolling the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean. In order to attack to U.S.R. R. gibter-bombers would have tor una gauntlet of Soviet antiaircraft installations, but nonetheless they were deemed a sufficient counter to Clunky, obsolescent Soviet missing.

However, in the late 1970s, Moscow began fledling an extremely formidable new generation of intermediate-range nuclear missile. Designated by NATO the SS-20, it was mobile and carrior of three independently targetable that the control of the conern land-based, intermediate-range ballistic missiles—the SS-20 was seen to be "decoupling." Western strategists could imagine the two sides' intercontinental missiles holding each other in mediate-range bishops and knights in the Furopene squares on the board. As a result, the pawns—tanks, artillery and infanry—would suddenly become more important, and the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Warsaw Pacts convenference where the control of the work of the conformer West German Chancelor Helmus Schmid gave a

landmark speech in London ten years ago, raising the alarm

TIME, APRIL 27, 1987



over the SS-20 and calling on the U.S. to redress the imbalance. American officials and experts were at first reluctant, in part because they feared that whatever Schmidt wanted, many in West Germany and elsewhere would protest the deployments and

blame the U.S. for escalating the arms race.

But Schmidt and other Europeans persisted, and in December 1979, toward the end of the Carter Administration, allied ministers met in Brussels and committed their governments to the so-called two-track decision. NATO would proceed toward deployment, beginning in late 1983, of 572 new intermediaterange American missiles in Europe to offset the SS-20s. Five NATO members would accept batteries of Tomahawk groundlaunched cruise missiles, and West Germany would also permit the upgrading of the Pershing I to the Pershing II, which has more than twice the range and a much more accurate warhead. At the same time, the U.S. would propose negotiations with the Soviets on a scaled-back deployment of American intermediaterange nuclear forces (INF) in exchange for a reduction in SS-20s.

The Reagan Administration inherited the two-track decision. Some key officials would have preferred to dump it onto the ash heap of history. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle.

the leading hard-liner, failed to prevent the Administration from accepting the two-track policy, but he won the next battle: the U.S. proposed that if the Soviets eliminated all their SS-20s, NATO would not just restrict its prospective deployment but cancel it altogether. The simplicity and boldness of the scheme appealed to Reagan, and it had the advantage of seeming to give some of the noisier Europeans what they wanted. Pacifists and critics of NATO in Schmidt's Social Democratic Party had called for the Null-Lösung, the "zero solution. although for them, along with "ban the Bomb" and "zone of peace," it was part of the vocabulary of European neutralism. Thus Perle was able, in a single catchy phrase, to appeal to both European leftists and the conser-

vative new American President. Some critics on both sides of the Atlantic pointed out at the

time that the zero option was no solution to the problem of decoupling. The SS-20 was just one manifestation of the Soviet buildup threatening Western Europe, and therefore the U.S. should proceed with at least some INF deployments in any event. But that complaint was largely academic, since no one believed the Soviets would ever accept the zero option in advance of the

American deployment at the end of 1983.

The INF talks in Geneva quickly became a smoke screen for the real contest, which was a political and propaganda struggle between Moscow and Washington over the divided hearts and minds of the Europeans on the issue of deployment. The Reagan Administration tinkered with the zero option in ways calculated to ensure that full deployment went ahead on schedule, while Moscow waved a variety of carrots and sticks, all intended to prevent any American missiles from being deployed

The Soviets seemed particularly concerned about the ballistic Pershing II, because they believed it could reach their command-and-control bunkers, and other vital points deep inside the U.S.S.R., in a matter of minutes. But beyond its military concerns, the Kremlin was trying to make a political point: that the U.S. was not a legitimate power on the continent of Europe, and therefore had no right to put its missiles there.

Only once did the diplomatic activity in Geneva become a genuine negotiation. That was when the heads of the two delegations, Paul Nitze and Yuli Kvitsinsky, went for a walk on a wooded mountainside in July 1982 and agreed on a compromise: the Soviet Union would reduce its SS-20s in Europe by twothirds, keeping 75 missiles with a total of 225 warheads; the U.S. would give up the Pershing II but proceed with deployment of 300 cruise missiles. That outcome would have been better for the West than the zero option, since it would have affirmed the U.S.'s right to put new INF missiles on European soil and thereby the principle of coupling.

But the "walk in the woods" formula was rejected in both capitals. Perle led the attack on Nitze in Washington, convincing the President that it was unfair to let the Soviets keep a monopoly in INF ballistic missiles. The U.S., Perle argued successfully, must hold out for the Pershing II as part of the eventual deployment package. When the first American missiles arrived in Europe in November 1983, it was a major political defeat for the Soviets, and they walked out of the INF talks. All arms-control efforts went into limbo for the duration of Reagan's first term

Once again the phrase zero option is in the headlines. It was Gorbachev who put it there. Early last year Gorbachev offered to "liquidate" INF missiles in Europe as part of a package deal on strategic-arms reduction and limits on space-based defenses. At the October meeting in Reykjavík, he and Reagan reached an impasse on Star Wars, but in February Gorbachev unlinked INF

from the issues of strategic offense and defense and called for a separate deal on Euromissiles. Much as Perle had commandeered the idea from the German left. Gorbachev was now

stealing it back Today's zero option is quite different from the 1981 version. Back then the U.S. was starting from zero and offering to stay there if the Soviets came down to zero as well-dismantling an entire class of weapons already deployed, in exchange for NATO's altering future plans. As members of the Administration themselves admitted at the time, it was like asking the Super Bowl champs to trade their All-Pro front line for two future-round

draft choices. The result, predictably and perhaps intentionally, was no deal Now Gorbachev is offering a

real trade. The U.S. has 316 missiles of its own and will have to remove them from Europe if the Soviets remove their 922 war-

heads. While the U.S. will get the better end numerically, the Soviets will satisfy their determination to get American INF missiles out of Europe, albeit at a considerable price.

That feature of the plan has raised old worries at home and abroad. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and Congressman Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, have resurrected the fear that the zero option may be decoupling. Some Europeans are concerned that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other leaders have invested so much political capital in forcing through the deployments despite domestic opposition that it would be awkward for them now to feign enthusiasm for the total removal of the missiles. Largely for these reasons, the Reagan Administration was in

something of a quandary about how to react. Having originally proposed the zero option in 1981 and hung tough on it through '82 and '83, the Administration felt it could not say no now that

Gorbachev was finally saying yes.

Thus, with some of his aides swallowing hard. Reagan may go to the summit and the treaty-signing table in the fall having to contend with criticism that he is selling short the political and military interests of the West. As the final irony of the zero option, that criticism may be coming from the paragons of the arms-control establishment, whose own efforts to manage the nuclear peace Reagan himself opposed so vigorously during the era of détente -By Strobe Talbott



along with "ban the Bomb" and "zone of peace," as part of the vocabulary of European neutralism



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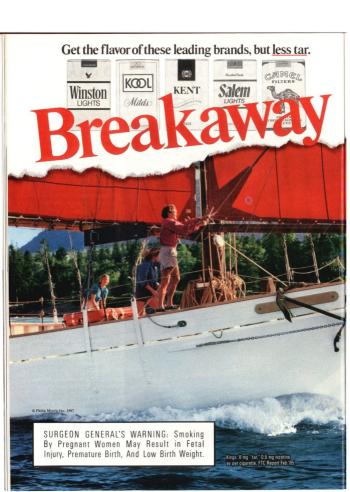
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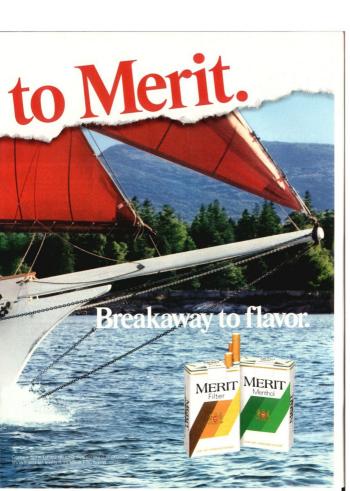
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### Nation

### The Loneliest Long-Distance Runner

Gary Hart begins his race for the presidency way ahead of the pack



1984 Democratic Convention, "This is one Hart you will not leave in San Francisco." But in politics these days, choosing a suitably telegenic backdrop is often as important as the announcement itself. Hart wanted to keep it simple, making the brief statement from the front porch of his log-and-stone house in the Colorado mountains, 25 miles from

Denver. His handlers preferred something more dramatic and expansive, with, of course, more room for reporters and TV crews. Caught between a rock and a hard place, the former Colorado Senator chose the rock, a picturesque stone slab in nearby Red Rocks Park.

There last week, evocatively framed by snow-speckled redsandstone formations, Hart, 50. formally staked his claim to the prize that eluded him last time. His eight-minute speech, flawlessly delivered from memory. harked back to the cerebral themes of 1984: "I intend, as I always have, to run a campaign of ideas." Hart's central idea is his proclaimed ability to discern "the national interest" and his determination to pursue it. This sets up a refrain, as he compares his ideas to Reagan policies: "One choice is in the national interest, and that choice could not

Far more compelling than rhetoric, however, was the visual image of Gary Hart: roughhewn and handsome, dressed in a dark blue suit and trademark black cowboy boots, standing in splendid isolation halfway up a

mountain. The lone political warrior towering above his rivals is precisely Hart's position nine months before the Iowa caucuses. It has been Hart vs. a still indistinguishable field ever since New York Governor Mario Cuomo decided to sit out the 1988 race. A Washington Post-ABC News preference poll of Democrats last month gave Hart 46% and Jesse Jackson 14%. with no other active or potential candidate registering above 4%

Hart, who has built his political career as a grass-roots outsider running against the party establishment, lacks most of the hallmarks of a traditional front runner. Aside from the Colorado delegation. Hart's avowed congressional supporters could caucus under the same umbrella. Old-line party financiers who

Gary Hart's ritual declara- | actively supported Walter Mondale in 1984 find Hart's diffident style difficult to accept. "Hart I can't see," says a prominent Southern fund raiser. "If I don't know who he is. I don't know how he can win." Labor leaders, who remember Hart's blistering attacks on Mondale's ties to special interests, are equally skittish. As Don McKee, a leading Iowa union official, puts it, "The name Hart doesn't come up among our rank and file.

There is an inescapable tendency, however, to exaggerate Hart's liabilities.

Rocky Mountain high: the candidate, joined by his family, bows in

"I intend, as I always have, to run a campaign of ideas.

At this premature stage, almost everyone following the Democratic contest-the press, campaign consultants for rival candidates, and party officials who want to be wooed-has a vested interest in a political horse race. Small wonder the conventional wisdom is filled with airy speculation about which Democrat might suddenly emerge from the pack with a Hart-stopping charge in Iowa or New Hampshire.

It may happen. Up to now though, Hart has run a gaffe-free campaign that provides scant fodder for his hungry rivals. Perhaps his only strategic error was to neglect the Iowa battleground for much of 1986. But Hart's Senate record wins Democratic applause, especially his consistent opposition to Reaganomics and his long advocacy of an oil-import fee. Hart's speeches have grown more evocative and thematic; technocratic details are now left to his position papers, which are voluminous enough to satisfy anyone's hunger for beef.

The only ripples in the calm waters of the Hart campaign are churned up by debris from his last campaign. Hart still owes creditors \$1.3 million from 1984, and campaign laws allow him to separate this leftover red ink from his political coffers for 1988. But the lingering 1984 debt remains an annoying distraction. U.S. marshals made surprise raids on two Los Angeles-area Hart fund raisers last week. seizing the receipts on behalf of a small ad agency that is owed \$165,900 from 1984. Hart's aides insist, with seeming validity,

that 1988 campaign funds cannot be garnisheed. At week's end, however, the money remained in the marshals' custody.

Far more amorphous, vet potentially far more serious for Hart, are the lingering echoes from what is politely called the character issue. In 1984, underlying doubts about Hart's personality took the form of an overheated discussion of his name change (from Hartpence) and his frequent misstatements of his age. This time around Hart is plagued by vague rumors of womanizing, all advanced without a shred of credible evidence. It is no secret that Hart and his wife Lee endured two painful marital separations, the last one ending in 1982. Last week, prompted by a reporter's acknowledgment that the innuendos of infidelity were being subtly spread by aides of rival candidates, Hart suggested, Sooner or later, someone has to write the story about how this is coming out of other campaigns." Hours later he tried to soften the point, saying he did not believe rival camps were spreading rumors. Nevertheless, the initial remark illustrat-

ed the dangers of a presidential candidate's uttering the truth. Instead of stifling the rumors, Hart's words prompted another day's worth of stories about them and about his critical response.

Forgettable flaps like this are what pass for news in the early days of campaign 88. Inevitably, Hart himself will become the issue. "That's the nature of being the front runner," says Paul Tully, Hart's political director. "You're going to get trashed." For the next six months, however, Hart's rivals lack a dramatic forum to get their views across; no debates, straw polls or other major media events are on the schedule. By the time Democratic voters turn their attention to presidential politics, Hart, still traveling alone, could well be within sight of the mountaintop. -By Walter Shapiro. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Hart

### Nation

### **Radio Daze**

The FCC tries to clear the air

➡ oward Stern is an equal-opportunity offender. With his raucous gibes and racy double entendres, he gails black and white, few and Gentlie, man and woman. You name them, Howard Stern has intended to the state of the state of

In an action that considerably broadens its definition of indecency on the airwaves, the FCC issued warnings to three radio licensees, among them WYSP-FM, the Philadelphia station that airs Stern's show, for broadcasting material that contained sexually explicit language. One of those stations, cited for broadcasting excerpts from a play describing homosexual practices, was referred to the Justice Department for possible criminal prosecution for obscenity. In a move that will undoubtedly affect-and restrict-the sexual content of what broadcasters say, the FCC suggested it will henceforth take enforcement action against shows it deems to be "indecent.

Until now, the regulatory agency has acted only against violations of its socalled seven-dirty-words policy, a standard first enunciated in 1976 in response to the broadcast of a monologue by Comedian George Carlin titled Filthy Words, in which he mocked the banning of certain sexually explicit terms. In its ruling that year against New York City station WBAI-FM, the FCC defined indecency as anything "patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards." but the commission elected to move against only those stations that permitted one of the proscribed words to be uttered on the air at a time of day when children might be listening. Last week, however, the commission announced it will now use the wider definition. Said FCC General Counsel Diane Killory: "The interpreta-tion has been too narrow. We will apply the generic definition and not limit it arbitrarily to seven specific words.

Civil libertarians suggested the raling will cramp the style of broadcasters as well as the range of subjects they are willing to discuss. Barry Lynn, an American Civil Liberties. Union lawyer in Washington, DC, noted that Shern's monologues may be rude, but they are not leved and are used to the state of the state

An unchastened Stern on the day of the ruling Within the bounds of protected bad taste.

vague about where it is drawing the line. "Does this mean that Alice Walker can't read from *The Color Purple* anymore, as she has on our station, because the book deals with incest?" he asked.

Lawyer Steven Lerman, who represents WYSP, put it most succinctly. "What was protected speech yesterday is not prochected speech today." Yesterday's innuendo, he suggests, is today's indecency. Yet Lerman predicted that because the FCC has the singular power to bestow and reluctant to jocapardize their finnchises by testing the agency's ruling in court or on the air.

The FCC argues that it is only responding to protests from the public. The agency says it received 20,000 letters last year from listeners complaining about offensive language on the radio. Lerman says that Donald Wildmon, executive director of the National Federation for Decency, wrote two letters to the FCC about Stern's show and, along with a group called Morality in Media, urged other Philadelphians to do the same. The FCC received 35 complaints; Stern's Philadelphia audience alone is 500,000. WYSP says it will comply with the FCC's ruling while investigating its constitutionality. In the meantime, Stern declares he has the perfect remedy for people who find his show offensive: turn it off. -By Richard Stengel.

Reported by Anne Constable/Washington and Mary Cronin/New York

### Sneak Attack

The carrier battle goes on

In the statile to build aircraft carriers, the Navy seems to lively but crede? "You win some, you try to win some more." In 1983 congress provided finds to lay the hulls for two new carriers, three years later Defense produced from the promosed not to seek money for more flattops until 1992. But at the utggraded flath the promosed not to seek money for more flattops until 1992. But at the utggraded flather personaled not seek money for more flattops until 1992. But at the utggraded flather promosed not to seek money for more flattops until 1992. But at the utggraded flatter production flattops until 1992 that the utggraded flatter flattops until 1992 that the utggraded flatter flattops are flattops until 1992 that the utggraded flatter flatter flatter flattops until 1992 that the utggraded flatter flatt

Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy has scoffed at Weinberger's request as just an "expensive going-away present for Navy Secretary Lehman," while Democratic Senator Carl Levin has noted that the Pentagon's annual report to Congress last year said the two oldest carriers in the Navy's fleet did not have to be replaced until the 1990s. At a public hearing, Levin asked Weinberger, "How in the world did these two carriers slip into the budget?" The Secretary insisted that nothing had changed; since each takes about seven years to build, he was still merely "asking for two in the '90s." He had not cited the carriers in the most recent shipbuilding schedule, he said, because "these are rolling plans." Complained Levin, to loud laughter in the hearing room: "That's a rolling answer

The Navy had argued that by starting construction now, some \$3 billion could be saved from the cost of the two carriers, estimated at \$10.5 billion if begun in the 1990s. But a General Accounting Office study this month but the saving at only \$700 million. Critics of the Navy noted that the cost of aircraft, missiles and escort ships pastes the total price for the placements, the two new carriers would cut heavily into the Navy's ability to provide the manpower.

maintenance and operating funds required by its expanding fleet.

As both sides renewed had battle, Lehman's successor, James Webb, pointed out that the Midaway will be 50 years old by the time it can be replaced. But the highest Navy officer, Admiral William Crowe, who heads the Joint Chiefs of

Weinberger

Staff, fired a shot across the fleet's low by argaing that "painful choices have to be made." The admiral said he would give higher priority to such matters as "modern munitions, antisubmarine warfare and the SSN [attack submarine] program." That may have sounded like mutiny to the Navy, but some budgeteers on Capitol Hill were applauding.

### Grappling With Growth

Florida gets a tax hike

n his campaign to become only the sec-ond Republican Governor of Florida in this century. Candidate Bob Martinez offered a medley of the G.O.P.'s greatest hits, highlighted by such familiar classics as slashing the budget and cutting taxes. Floridians loved his tune and rewarded him with a resounding victory over his Democratic rival, Steve Pajcic, last November, Today, however, Governor Mar-

tinez is singing the fiscal-responsibility blues. The man who vowed to "sweat \$800 million" out of the state's budget has instead proposed tax hikes totaling \$850 million, the largest revenue increase in Florida's history

Martinez ruefully attributes his reversal to the "shock of reality. Florida is the nation's fastestgrowing state and the sixth most populous in America (11.6 million residents). Yet it ranks last in per capita spending on human services and 47th in state and local taxes as a proportion of income. "The 895 new people per day who arrive in Florida to stay use water, waste water, need schoolrooms, use roads," says Martinez.

Faced with a constitutional ban on a state income tax and stringent limits on property taxes, Martinez did not have a wealth of options for raising funds. He turned to the state's 5% sales tax on goods. Rather than increasing the levy, he expanded its reach to include services ranging from advertising to warehousing. "About 80% of our economy is service driven and growing," explains the Governor. "With a sales tax on commodities, you're taxing only 20% of the economy.

Democrat Sam Bell, chairman of Florida's house appropriations committee, called Martinez's flip-flop an "irony of major proportions." The Governor, who switched from the Democratic Party

Martinez chats with roadway crew members in Tallahassee

to the G.O.P. in 1983, became the butt of pointed guips. "They said if I voted for Steve Pajcic, taxes would go up," said wags. "Well. I voted for Steve Paicic, and taxes are going up.

Yet the tax hike won bipartisan support in the Democratic-controlled legislature. Most of the service-industry lobbyists who stormed the statehouse to fight the bill got the cold shoulder from legislators. The lawyers' lobby won exemptions on fees of \$750 or less for advisory services on an array of cases, including divorce and child-custody suits, but still planned to bring suit against the tax. The threat did not intimidate Dempsey Barron, chairman of the Florida senate rules commit-

tee, who called attorneys "the greediest, most soulless, heartless, blood-sucking bunch of people I have ever been associated with.

Last week the state senate and house approved the tax hike. By breaking his campaign promise, Martinez has won plaudits from Democratic legislators and grudging respect from Republicans, who are relieved he never uttered those dreaded words income tax. But Martinez wants to make sure this monster increase will be his last. "I am prepared to take an unpleasant dose of tax medicine this year, said the Governor, "but I do not intend to do it year after year because we did not do it right the first time "

# The City That Isn't

A Texas town dissolves

The Gulf Coast of Texas was never a hotbed of anarchist agitation. But that was before voters in the tiny resort town of Crystal Beach (est. pop. 1,200) decided that rather than fight city hall, they ought to get rid of it. And so they did, voting 314 to 245 earlier this month to abolish the local government. Within hours after the city's only polling place closed, revelers had torn down the green-and-white Crystal Beach highway signs along Texas Route 87 and taunted lame-duck local police officers, who could no longer enforce the town's 45-m.p.h. speed limit. "Crystal Beach is history," exulted Marina Operator Arnold Charpiot, 79, a leader of the antigovernment uprising. "We have thrown out the city.

But within days the voters realized to their chagrin that they had also thrown out city garbage collection, voided 81 municipal ordinances and furloughed the twelve-member local police force. "This is crazy. We're going to the Dark Ages," lamented Police Chief Pat Lowry. Equally upset was Defrocked Mayor Bill Stirling, who suffered a double defeat on election day: he lost to Bill Kelsey, and the job of mayor was eliminated. "There's no precedent for this," complained Stirling, "It's a jungle. Despite the civic caterwauling, Crys-

tal Beach will still have a local government. It is now an unincorporated area administered by Galveston County, as are neighboring communities along the Bolivar Peninsula. The problem is that Galveston officials say they cannot afford to provide more than 25% of usual city services. Police protection has been reduced to Lowry and a lone sheriff's deputy in a patrol car. That is not much



Crystal Beach's defrocked mayor, Bill Stirling And who picks up the garbage?

law-and-order for a blue-collar resort town whose summer population swells to 20,000. As County Commissioner Eddie Barr put it, "I can see 12,000 drunks shooting bottle rockets at each other on

July 4th Up till now, the only fireworks have been provided by Crystal Beach residents. who have been squabbling over their local government since the city was incorporated in 1971. Texas Rangers were once called out to restore order at a tempestuous city-council meeting. Two campaigns to disincorporate Crystal Beach failed. But the rebellion gathered steam last year after the city imposed a \$5 beach parking fee and two municipal officials were indicted for misconduct. Groused former Mayor Hank March: "We've been putting up with mismanagement and ineptitude for 16 years." As Crystal Beach braces for the tumult of its annual Crab Festival this weekend, the battle continues. A petition has been filed demanding a recount of the vote, and Mayor-sort-of-elect Kelsey promises a lawsuit over 50 alleged election irregularities. Anarchy has not yet descended, but there are grounds for concern. One night last week a young motorcyclist roared down city streets. "You can't do anything to me, man," the motorcyclist taunted the local constable who told him to pull over. "You've lost your authority." But the law dies hard in Texas: the truculent youth was promptly packed off to iail in Galveston.

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### American Notes



Double jeopardy: a convict suffering from AIDS in Rikers Island jail



Pouble charges: Seminole Chief Billie, accused by both U.S. and Florid

### PRISONS

### Free Condoms

Sex among inmates is forbid-den in prisons, but the law does not always reflect reality. With AIDS on the rise and many prisoners in the high-risk group of intravenous drug users, the danger of an epidemic among convicts is real. The state of Vermont confronted the threat last month, when Governor Madeleine Kunin approved a policy of giving a condom to any prisoner who requested it.

New York City, where AIDS is a far more serious problem, last week decided to try a similar approach. Condoms will be made available to some 90 homosexual immates who are housed in a special wing of Rikers Island jail. If the threemonth trial is successful, the program may be expanded to prisoners. About half of them have taken drugs by injection and may have used contaminated needles.

TRAVEL

### Passports From Afar

When Americans travel abroad, they take with them a cherished link with their homeland: their passport. Soon, however, even that symbol of citizenship will not be all-American. The Government Printing Office disclosed last week that when it sought bids for a new machine to produce passports, only two firms responded. One was Japanese, the other West German The winner: Uno Seisakusho Co. Ltd., whose \$1 million machine will begin churning out up to 4,200 passports an hour in Washington this week. You gorvoko o. Or. as an American might say, "Have a nice

### endangered species Charged for

### Charged for His Dinner

The Florida panther has inhabited the federal endangered species list since 1967. but James Billie, chief of the Seminole Indian tribe, argues that he was not always aware of the tawny cat's protected status. In 1983 Billie killed and ate a panther on the Seminole reservation in the Everglades. Though the state charged Billie with destroying an endangered animal, the case languished in local courts. After lengthy debate, the Justice Department has charged Billie with violating the 1973 Endangered Species Act. Although Native Americans have been convicted of trading in eagles, no court has ever decided whether Indians, whose hunting and fishing treaties

with Washington do not mention imperiled animals, are exempt from the act's provisions.

Billie's attorney, Bruce Rogow, says the real threat to the panther has been the overdeelopment of South Florida by whites; since 1978 five Florida panthers have been killed by motorists, and others have been shot by white hunters. Naturalists estimate that only a few dozen panthers exist in the Everglades today.

NONPROLIFERATION

### Curbs on the Big Rockets

It is a nightmare of the modern age: a group of terrorists, say, or a renegade nation obtains a nuclear warhead and then acquires the means to deliver the deadly device. Last week the U.S. and six allies (Japan, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Canada) announced an agreement that could make that scenario less likely. Each has promised not to export any agreement of the country of the c

The negotiations, conduction of the agreement is a small step forward in stemming nuclear proliferation, it has not been endorsed by several countries that already produce missiles capable of carrying nukes, notably the Soviet Union, China and probably India and Brazil.

PSYCHIATRY

### Hinckley's Odd Pen Pals

The testimony seemed a bit, well, schizophrenic. Appearing on behalf of John Hinckley, who attempted in 1981 to assassinate President Reagan. Psychiatrist Glenn Miller said the patient had improved enough during his five years in St. Elizabeths, a Washington mental hospital, to visit his parents without an escort. But at the same time Miller almost casually noted that Hinckley's "judgment is not perfect." Asked for examples by Hinckley's lawyer, Miller testified that the patient had written to convicted Mass Murderer Theodore Bundy expressing sympathy "for the awful position that Bundy must be in." Hinckley had also received a letter from "Squeaky" Fromme, who tried to shoot President Ford in 1975, and had obtained the prison address of Killer Charles Manson Federal District Judge

Federal District Judge Barrington Parker, startled by the disclosures, demanded to be shown Hinckley's correspondence. Justice Department attorneys, who opposed the visitation request, ordered Bundy's Florida cell searched for other Hinckley letters. After the testimony, hospital officials decided that maybe the one-day leave wasn't such a good idea after all and withdrew the proposal.

TIME, APRIL 27, 1987



SOUTH AFRICA

# Campaign of The Iron Fist

A new crackdown on protesters backfires

mong South Africa's Afrikaner politicians, it is axiomatic that kragdadigheid, a show of strength, wins elections. With that strategy in mind, the National Party government of State President P.W. Botha has been preparing for the May bouring on just about as much kragdadigheid as the country can bear. His government last week was threatening to strike at neighboring countries that might be harboring anti-Pretoria guerillas and was attempting to enforce harsh new regulations against opposition demonstra-

With a defiant mood of apartheid now, apartheid forever. Botha said in a BBC interview that he would never countenance a black majority government, a black head of state or a scrapping of segregation in residential areas. "I am not prepared to sacrifice my rights so that the other man can dominate me with his greater numbers," Botha declared. "The other man," of course, is the 26 million blacks who live in South Africa and its "independent homelands" and who outnumber the whites by more than 5 to 1. Botha said he was prepared to grant "the other man" equal rights, but he quickly added. "I never read in the Bible that to be a good Christian means I must commit suicide to please the other man

As the elections approached, Botha directed belicose statements at nearby Zimbabwe, Butswana and Mozambique. Anarging that those countries were hardenging that those countries were hardenging that the state president and his Foreign Minister, Roelof ("Pik") Botha, have been warning the A.Nc. that it would face such military strikes if it would face such military strikes if it would have been warning the A.Nc. that it would face such military strikes if and the such military strikes if and the such military strikes if it would face such military strikes if it would not such as the such as

At nome the government made another move to silence the voice of protest. General Johan Coetzee, the national police commissioner, announced a new emergency regulation banning South Africans from doing or saying anything to bring about the release of people who have been detained without trial. Of the approximately 30,000 arrested since the declaration of the state of emergency last June, some 8,000 are believed to remain in detention, including about 2,000 minors. Under the latest order it is illegal to participate in "any campaign, project or cases" of deainees. Among the forbidden acts, said Coetzee, are the signing of petitions, the sending of telegrams and even the wearing of political stickers or shirts bearing anti-detention slogans. Also prohibited are attendance at protest gatherings or any action demonstrating solidarings or any action of memoratrating solidarings.

hibited are attendance at protest gatherings or any action demonstrating solidarity with those detained.

The new measures were so sweeping that they jabbed a public nerve and produced a thunderous reaction both at home

eral Johan Coetzee's latest ord

and overseas. Opposition leaders redoubled their attacks against the government. The Detainees Parents' Support Committee vowed that it would challenge the latest crackdown in the courts, while the Free the Children Alliance declared that the police statement "criminalizes legitimate protest."

Many critics, including Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archibishop of Cape Town, and Helen Suzman, a leading opposition Member of Parliament, said they would ignore the restrictions and continue to speak their minds. The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, the Revertend Boyers Naude, and party for the detainees. "If these actions, undertaken in obedience to God's consumer to the consumer to

st against detentions, even on T shirts, above

demand, lead to possible charges and imprisonment, so be it," said Naude.

To protest the government action, Archbishop Tutu held a prayer service at St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town that drew a crowd of more than 700. Tutu told the gathering: "Beware when you take on the Church of God. Others have tried and have come a cropper." He added, "The government has gone crazy. I want to tell them that I am not going to stop calling for the release of detainees in or out of church." Said another clergyman at the service, the Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches: "My plea quite openly is to rise up and revolt against this ban . . . Our integrity is at stake. This is an assault on the very purpose of God for this country. We should never accept it.

Among those at the Cape Town service was the American Ambassador to South Africa, Edward Perkins, who has kept a low profile since he took up his present post last October. Though the State Department maintained that its policy toward South Africa had not changed, Perkins' presence was an unmistakable signal that the U.S. disapproved of the Botha government's recent actions. In a prepared statement. Perkins expressed Washington's "shock and outrage at the continued detention of large numbers of children." He also said that the latest crackdown points to "the erosion of fundamental liberties in this country

Faced with such a fiery reaction by so wide a range of clergymen, opposition politicians and Western countries, the Botha government staged a hasty strategic retreat. Two days after his first statement, General Coetzee declared that the new policy was

not intended to infringe on a person's right or "make representations" regarding a detaines' release, nor was it intended to "prohibit prayers for the release of a detained during a bona fide religious gathering." Rather, said Cotezee, the new policy was aimed at any action that might "incite" bup bublic to "participate in a campaign" aimed at the release of detainess. Apparently this meant that while individual efforts and prayers might still be legal, concerted actions and campaigns were not.

ut the suddenly outraged opposition refused to back off. Tutu and 46 Anglican ministers signed a letter calling on President Botha either to release or bring to trial all those now being detained without charge. The group said they knew they were breaking the ban on campaigning against the detentions, but were doing so because the new regulations were immoral and dangerous and "take us into the realms of totalitarianism." On Good Friday another group of church leaders carried crosses through downtown Durban to protest the detentions. In Cape Town and its suburbs a group of white women from the civil rights group Black Sash openly defied the new restrictions by standing on street corners with posters demanding, "Why can't we call for the release of detainees?

The government's attempts to look tough were partially undermined by growing labor unrest. The Johannesburg area has been hit by a strike of 20,000 South African Transport Services workers. Nearly 60 railway cars, mostly on commuter trains from the huge black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg, were fire bombed last week, and

many others were stoned. Several passengers were injured, and one young black was shot and wounded in the leg, reportedly as he tried to hurf a flaming torch control of the state of the state of the control of the state of the state of the control of the state of the state of the the region. In addition, a postal worker are to the state of the state

All the tough tactics and attempts to blame foreigners for the country's racial problems, however, did not quiet opposition politicians. Zacharias de Beer, a founding member of South Africa's Progressive Federal Party, told a campaign rally that Foreign Minister Pik Botha was like a "poker player who knows his position is hopeless and who sometimes kicks the table over." The government's calculation, continued De Beer, was "that if you can get the voters to the polls to vote against [A.N.C. Leader] Oliver Tambo, then that will be just the injection that the National Party needs." But in truth, said De Beer, "Mr. Tambo is not a candidate in this election. Nor for that matter is Senator [Edward] Kennedy. Voters will best serve their own interests by looking at the situation here at home in South Africa.

Election polls show the ruling National Party to be far ahead, but in some ways it is losing. Botha set out in the campaign to show the world that South African whites solidly support his policy of modest reform of the apartheid system. Instead, it has revealed gaping splits among the whites and growing unrest among blacks. — By William E. Smith. Report-odly Bruce W. Khally Johannes Burgh Bruch Standy Johannes Burgh Standy Bruch Standy Johannes Burgh Standy Bruch Standy Johannes Burgh Standy Burgh Standy Johannes Burgh Standy Burgh Standy Johannes Burgh Standy Johannes Burgh Standy Burgh Standy Johannes Burgh



### World



Under siege: the Prime Minister talking to reporters after a setback at the polls

JAPAN

### Yasu, the Chips Are Down

Nakasone is caught between the U.S. and the voters at home

t is not the best of times for Prime Min-ister Yasuhiro Nakasone. Even his vaunted friendship with Ronald Reagan could not prevent the imposition last week of stiff U.S. tariffs against \$300 million worth of Japanese exports. The move was in retaliation against Tokyo for selling microchips below cost on world markets and refusing to buy more U.S. semiconductors. At home, where the battle cry "Uriage-zei funsai!" (Smash the sales tax!) has been raised since February, Nakasone's proposed tax reforms, which include a new 5% sales tax, have won him few friends. Last week the Prime Minister's ruling Liberal Democratic Party suffered its worst setback in 30 years in local elections Concluded Tokyo Political Commentator Masayoshi Ito: "The Nakasone administration is in its last days."

Leery of the backlash against Nakasone's tax proposal, provincial L.D.P. politicians had gone so far as to ask the Prime Minister to stay away from the campaign hustings. Indeed, Nakasone has done little to help his dismal approval rating, which has plummeted from 39% to 24% in the past four months. Last week he rammed his new budget, overdue by two months, through a parliamentary committee. In a three-minute session marred by shoving and shouting, L.D.P. Budget Chairman Shigetani Sunada declared the measure passed and adjourned the committee. The national daily Asahi Shimbun called the incident a "rash act that shamelessly tramples down the popular will expressed by the local elections." Nakasone called the tactic "unavoidable."

The Prime Minister's supporters argue that the tax-reform bill, along with its unpopular sales levy, must be passed to stimulate domestic economic growth. The plan would reduce income taxes to en-

courage consumer spending, creating a greater demand for imports. The sales tax, they contend, would make up for revenue lost with the cuts. An increase in U.S. exports to Japan would then take the heat out of the trade war and help stabilize the soaring yen, which has made Japanese goods more expensive abroad. Still, despite an L.D.P. majority in parliament, both the tax and budget proposals face an

As the imposition of sanctions suggested, Washington is skeptical about whether Tokyo has the will to correct its \$38.6 billion trade imbalance with the \$38.6 billion trade imbalance with the James Baker tried to allay Japanese concern about the yen by calling a further decline of the dollar "counterproductive." Nonetheless Baker complained that Tokyo's proposed economic reforms 'are not 'Japan still must do more."

The Reagan Administration's new 100% tariffs were levied on some Japanese color TVs, personal computers and power tools. Although the sanctions will affect only a tiny fraction of overall bilateral trade, they will hurt some Japanese manufacturers. But for the middlemen peddling Japanese microchips to foreign buyers, business will probably go on as usual. Already some American enterprises dependent upon inexpensive Japanese chips are busy looking for legal loopholes to exempt them from the U.S.-Japanese semiconductor agreement signed last year. In the meantime, tensions show no sign of abating. When Yasu calls on his friend Ron at the end of the month, the atmosphere is likely to be cordial but strained. By Howard G. Chua-Eoan. Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and

Yukinori Ishikawa/Tokyo

SOUTH KOREA

### Reforms On Hold

Election debates end abruptly

The stadiums have been built, the logos designed, and throughout Secul huge billboards count down the days until the opening of the 1988 Summer Olympics. Everything in South Korea between now and next summer fits into a tight schedule that reaches a climax with the Olympics. President Chun Doo Hwan, a former general, has also been fitting presidential politics into the program. Chun promised to revise the constitution so that when he leaves office in February 1988—the first leaves office in February 1988—the first successor would be more democratically chosen.

But last week in a national broadcast. Chun announced that because of the pressing business of preparing for the Olympics, there will be no constitutional revision. This means that a military-backed candidate will almost certainly maintain control of the presidency. Chun explained that the Olympics and the country's "new glorious era of democracy" would be marred by constitutional debates that "split public opinion and waste national energies."

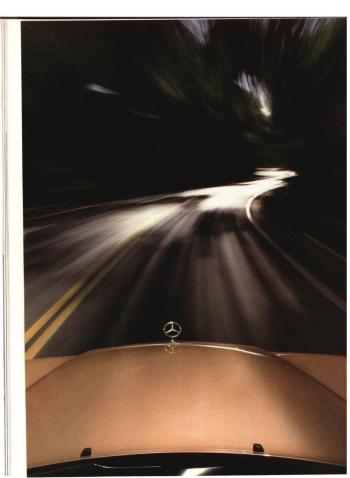
The opposition has long criticized the present constitution's indirect method of electing the President. The choice is made by an electoral college of more than 5.000 with or bought and whose numbers are weighted by law in favor of the ruling party. Instead, the opposition has stubbornly championed direct elections. It believes that under such a system its candidate that the control of the students of the control of the co



Chun puts politics on an Olympic calendar

No talks with the "mess in the opposition."





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For nearly a year the government and the opposition have been arguing the pros and cons of constitutional reform. Two weeks ago the opposition's two major leaders, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, pulled out of the New Korea Democratic Party, the largest antigovernment group in parliament, because they felt the N.K.D.P. president was about to agree to a compromise supported by Chun. Citing the "mess in the opposition," Chun last week said he could not deal with a party unable to "resolve its own internal problems through dialogue." Critics charge that the president encouraged the divisions, negotiated only to set up a democratic facade, and would allow no one other than one of his supporters to succeed him.

That successor is likely to be Roh Tae Woo, another ex-general and currently chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party. A former classmate of the President, Roh commanded the Scoul garrison that was instrumental in bringing Chun to office in the military scramble for power that followed the assassination of President Park Chung Hee in

After Chun's announcement, the opposition called for a renewed dialogue with the government and warned of political troubles to come. The President, however, has expressed no desire to talk with either of the Kims. In fact, the police have tightened security around Kim Dae Jung, who has been under house arrest for the past two weeks. Unless Chun reopens talks, said Kim Young Sam, "resistance and uprisings" would be unavoidable. Others made similar predictions. Said Stephen Cardinal Kim Sou Hwan of Seoul, whose influence goes far beyond the country's 2 million Roman Catholics: "The people's dream for constitutional reform, which they had expected to open a new brighter era, has been miserably shattered." The prelate added that South Korea would be "soaked with tear gas

In Washington, Reagan Administration officials publicly refused to take sides, saying only that the "U.S. consistently and steadfissily supports the development though. State Department officials copressed chagin," We're pretty disappointed about what's happened in South Korca," said one diplomat. "The whole situation just doesn't look as good as the involved not just Chun,"

To prevent demonstrations, some topologo processing 32 collegas and universities and demonstration of the demonstr

ARGENTINA

### "Democracy Is Not Negotiable"

A determined President moves to quell a barracks rebellion

President Raúl Alfonsín had already settled in for a long, lazy Easter weekend when the news reached him in his provincial hometown of Chascomas. About 130 officers and soldiers, led by Army Major Ernesto Barreiro, were holed up in an army barracks near the city of Córdoba, some 400 miles northwest of Buenos Aires. Barreiro had just been cashiered for refusing to obey a civilian court subpoena to answer charges of human-rights atrocities committed in the 1970s during the army's war against alleged leftist subversives. Now, angered by the ongoing human-rights prosecutions. he and his fellow rebels were demanding amnesty for all accused officers

"If the crisis was a ten, Alfonsín, being the shrewd politician he is, made it into a thousand. It was the first time in 60 years that there was a political and civilian answer to a military provocation."

Barreiro and his mutineers were only part of the challenge to Alfonsin. The rebellion spread to Campo de Mayo, the big army base outside Buenos Aire. At week's army base outside Buenos Aire. At week's while I 1000 government soldiers ringed the base. The display of support reflected the anger that has smoldered in military circles since 1985, when civilian judges convicted and sentenced five military leaders, includciant control of the control of the control of committed from 1976 to 1980.



Firmly in command: Alfonsin rallies overwhelming national support against the mutineers The first political and civilian triumph over a military provocation in 60 years.

Alfonsin, recognizing a severe challenge to his 40-month-old democratic rule, quickly choppered back to Buenos Aires, Soon government-controlled television channels were flashing an urgent message: "Democracy or dictatorship. Everyone come to the Congress at 5 p.m. Labor leaders, human-rights activists and virtually the entire civilian political establishment quickly packed the halls of Congress, while a throng of some 100,000 massed outside. When the President defiantly proclaimed before the Congress. "Democracy is not negotiable," the chamber erupted in applause. After his 15-minute speech, Alfonsin appeared on a balcony and cried, "Thank you for defending our democracy! Thank you!"

Faced with overwhelming support for Alfonsin and his government, the mutineers surrendered and Barreiro fled. The aborted mutiny was a triumph for Alfonsin, who showed that he was firmly in charge. Says Author Jacobo Timerman, who was tortured during the military rule: In an effort to lay the "dirty war" to reat, Argentina's Congress set last Feblodge new complaints. Army Chief of Staff General Héctor Rios Ereña reportcil promised army leaders that at most 100 more officers would face charges. In all there were about 400. The officers had nothing specifically against Alfonsis, but they felt that Rios Ereĥa had gong against his word. "The rebels' had promised the state of the congress of the control of the

### World

NICARAGUA

### Lifeline for a Rebellion

With U.S. help, the contras establish vital supply links

Since the U.S. resumed military aid tas fall to the contrast in their seven-year-old war against the Marxis-oriented Sandusta government, the robots have left their training camps in Hondarias and exherit raining camps in Hondarias and exherit raining camps in Hondarias and exherit results are to the sand their training camps in Hondaria and Indian Hondaria and In

With the contra military effort in full swing last week, moderate Rebel Leader

deep into Nicaragua's Jinotega province, carrying food and ammunition to contras in the interior.

The lifeline begins at a camp at a hidden airstrip along the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. From there, goods are piled into motor-driven dugouts and shipped down the Bocay to remote supply points. Much of the traffig goes through a hillion base deep inside the jungle. Armed guards are posted outside the facility, which is litare posted outside the facility, which is litfighting in central Jinotega. At the base, located some 25 miles inside Nicaragua,

Ready for battle at last: insurgents along the Honduran border prepare for a trip to the interior Fresh shipments of food and guns have lifted the rebels' spirits and their fortunes.

Alfonso Robelo suid he would not seek reelection to the directorate of the United Nicaraguan Opposition, the ambrella group that oversecs contra operations. Robelo's more, coupled with last month's reguntion of fellow Mederate Attuno Craz, Adolfo Calero, leader of the main contra military organization, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force. Amid the swirling politicial crosscarrents. TDME Correspondent Ricardo Chavitra visited several contra bosses last week in Nicaragua. His report:

The banks of Nicaragua's Bocay River were once dotted with Sumo Indian villages. Until the early 1980s the Sumos. surrounded by dense tropical forest, farmed and fished as they had for centuries. The Indians are gone now, forcibly moved to Sandinista resettlement camps, and the once sleepy river teems with guerrillas of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force. Rebel dugout cances by the Bocay

boxes of ammunition and mortar rounds are secured beneath camouflaged tarpaulins, and a radio operator maintains static-filled contact with forces far to

the south.
"This is the axis of our resupply ef-

fort," says a lanky guerrilla known as Comandante 42, the second in command of an 800-man force that protects the supply lines. The axis, though, is fragile. Contra sentries are posted up and down the river, but Sandinista troops may lie in ambush. Government patrols can call in air support when they encounter the guerrillas.

Even so, the perilously thin lifeline has lifted the contras' spirits and military fortunes. "These bases are an important advance for us," says Comandante 42. "The big difference in the past few months is that our men can get resupplied here rather than at the border." Sandinista troops showed just how dangerous border supply operations can be when they overran the main contra base near Ya-

males, Honduras, in March 1986, with a 3,000-man force. The rebels beat back the soldiers after a nine-day battle.

Some goor milite-way we less illusions about maintaining supply lines without U.S. help, and they are eager to impress listeners with their needs. "We know what has been said about private aid to the contrax." said a rebel calling himself Renato, who heads a 500-man unit that helps guard the supply line. "But when viding assistance, we suffered People naturally saw us as loosing the warr."

White resumption of U.S. aid allowed the courtes to return to the Boazy region, the area has changed greatly through Sandinista resettlement efforts. "Before they took our aid away we had many supporters among the civilian population here." aid Renato. "We could walk around unarmed. The people sold us food, and we had many secret couriers. Now the civilians are gone. Wen the Sandinisportant base of support. We have to walk days and days for dictivilians."

S till, many of the contras say they are making progress. We used to have to battle daily." said a veteran guerrilla named Hernan, recalling combat two years ago. "The Sandinistas were always on top of us, attacking, Now they are giving up territory, and we are the ones on the offensive." Gouerrillas say they have downed five Sandinista battle helicopters. SAV 7 missiles hought with U.S. aid. a claim the Sandinistas deny. One rebel said contra forces in the area have 40 of the Soviet-made antiaircraft weapons and expect delivery of 200 more.

No one, however, takes the Sandinistas lightly. A guerrilla named Huaspaca recalled fighting last February in the Matagalpa region to the south: "It was rough, and the Sandinistas invaded our positions. They use less men than before, but they employ a lot more artillery." Added a contra known as Chicle, who was a sergeant in former President Anastasio Somoza's National Guard: "The Sandinistas use everything at their disposal. When they are in trouble, they call in air support or artillery. Under those circumstances we have to curtail our operations. They are capable in war, but remember they are being advised by the Cubans and Soviets, who are very experienced in warfare.

The contras in the jungle watch Congress almost as closely as they do the Sandinists forces. The rebels are aware that congressional ire over U.S. arms sales to Iran, and the subsequent use of proceeds to supply the contras, could mean another aid cutoff. The guerrillas claim to be undanted, but the claim does not ring altogether true. Declared Chicle: "If Congress stops our aid, fine. But they can it stop our wouldn't hart us profoundly. However, we wouldn't hart us profoundly. However, we will keen fighting any way we will keen fighting any way we will keen fighting any way we un."

# How to become a quick change artist.



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### World

### Spoils of the Saharan Sands

Defeated Libyan troops leave a trove of weapons behind

t the Ouadi-Doum air base, the A t the Ouadi-Douni an ouaci Inside the onetime Libyan stronghold, which was overrun by Chadian troops in March, the unburied bodies of five Libyan pilots lay in a pit. Nearby, some 30 Soviet and Czech jet fighters, half of them unscathed, glittered in the sun. The aircraft were a small part of the advanced Soviet bloc weaponry that the forces of Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi left behind as they fled. The value of the abandoned matériel, along with the base itself and Libyan armaments lost in other desert battles. was estimated at nearly \$1 billion

The victory at Ouadi-Doum capped a remarkable Chadian drive that has all but ended 31/2 years of Libyan occupation of the north. When Western reporters toured battle sites recently, they found evidence that Gaddafi's fleeing troops had in some places laid down their arms without firing a shot. Near the oasis town of Fava-Largeau, the Libyans abandoned a column of Soviet-made T-55 tanks with the keys still in the ignition.



After the rout: the victors at Ouadi-Doum

The armaments were a bonanza for Chadian forces, which routed the enemy by attacking aboard Toyota pickup trucks mounted with light machine guns. Among the haul were more than 200 tanks and armored personnel carriers, countless rounds of ammunition and two giant early-warning radar systems. Western intelligence experts were delighted by the capture of three batteries of Sovietmade SA-6 surface-to-air missiles complete with radar guidance systems.

In spite of the magnitude of his victory, Chadian President Hisène Habré still has problems to solve. Foremost among them: he must reach an accord with Rebel Leader Goukouni Oueddei, a former President of Chad himself and Gaddafi ally whose forces last year joined with Habré's to help defeat the Libyans. But after an unproductive meeting last week between Goukouni and Ivory Coast President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who is trying to mediate between the two leaders, the President and the rebel commander reportedly remain far apart on issues ranging from Chad's provisional constitution to Goukouni's role in a new

government. Gaddafi, for his part, emerged last week in Tripoli for a bizarre 20-second appearance marking the anniversary of the 1986 U.S. bombing raid on Libya. After stepping onto a platform before an audience of some 500 mostly foreign guests. Gaddafi inexplicably turned around and left. Aides could not account for the mercurial leader's sudden exit, which left the four-day anti-American get-together to speakers ranging from American Indian militants to seasoned '60s radicals and at least one British Labor M.P. By John Greenwald.

Reported by Tala Skari/Ouadi-Dourn

Desert harvest: the loot included missiles and radar installations

Mint condition: captured S t-made SA-6 antiaircraft battery







### If the world were a perfect place, you wouldn't need a Buick.

The real world includes long stretches of traffic. terrible weather and serious demands on your car. So, may we suggest that you consider a car intelligently designed to handle the real world? We're suggesting you consider Buick LeSabre. Not because it's perfect, but because it is so good at the things that really count. For example.

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evenly and com-Finally, two coats of clear acrylic enamel are added to provide a deep, lustrous finish to keep your Buick handsome through vears of life's



When all is said and done, the real test of satisfaction with a car wheel. And Buick is just what the driver ordered.

LeSabre's big 3.8-litre V-6 with sequential-port fuel injection is there to do the job quietly, easily, reliably. Fully independent suspension not only smooths the ride but also grips the road in a highly sporting manner.

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See your dealer for the terms and conditions of this limited warranty.



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# TEST RIDE GIVES CYCLIST TASTE OF THE GOOD LIFE



"See your Authorized Schwinn Dealer for details on Schwinn's warranty © 1987 Schwinn Bioycle Co., Chicago.

SOVIET UNION

### **Tales from a Time of Terror**

### A novel suppressed for 20 years probes the Stalinist era

The author sits at a rough wooden tres-tle table in his country house near Moscow, thumbing through a stack of page proofs for his novel. "This book is about power," he says. "Stalin was consciously aware of the uses of power, the abuses of power, how to get power and how to keep power. He could have debated with Machiavelli because he would have considered that Machiavelli knew

less about power than he did. This week an obscure literary journal,

Druzhba Narodov (Friendship of Peoples), will publish the first of three monthly installments of Anatoli Rybakov's startling novel, Children of the Arbat, which takes place during Stalin's reign of terror. The publication has been eagerly anticipated by Soviet intellectuals for more than a year, and many are hailing it as the literary event of their generation. People who have already read the novel are heaping praise on it. "This is a great book, a great moment in our literature." declared Poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko. "Rybakov was the man to do this. He is old enough to be a witness to that time. Mother History chose him. After this, it will be impossible to have the same history books in our libraries and schools.

The man Mother Histo-76-year-old with the stature

and stubbornness of a fireplug, but by no means a political dissident. He is a decorated war veteran, a believer in Communism and a well-established Soviet writer. His best-known previous book was Heavy Sand, a story about the sufferings of Jews in a Nazi-occupied Ukrainian village.

Children of the Arbat sheds light on the dark corner of Soviet history when Stalin ruled his country through fear. The title refers to a circle of young friends who live with their families in a building at 51 Arbat Street, near the center of Moscow, The main character is Sasha Pankratov, a Young Communist League leader at an engineering institute. He is arrested on an obviously false political charge, interrogated by the secret police of the NKVD (predecessor of the KGB) and sentenced to Siberian exile. Some of his friends try to organize a protest petition. A few people sign it, but most find excuses not to. One of them becomes an informer for the NKVD and finally a full-fledged agent. Some of the most vivid scenes in the novel are detailed descriptions of NKVD investigations, arrests and interrogations

Parallel with the story is a secondary plot that focuses on Stalin and his actions. Rybakov, relying on both fact and imagination, attempts to enter Stalin's mind and to understand the process of cunning and paranoia that led him to terrorize an entire nation. In lengthy internal soliloquies that some readers of the manuscript

Rybakov's work may be the most important Soviet novel since Doctor Zhivago chose is a vigorous The long delay is over: "We cannot bring up our children on lies.

have found deeply disturbing, Stalin coldly ruminates on what Rybakov calls the 'technology of power." At one point the tyrant says, "A state apparatus that is a reliable executor of the supreme will must be kept in a state of fear. That fear will

then be passed on to the people. The book ends with the assassination of Sergei Kirov, the Leningrad party leader, whose death in 1934 was used by Stalin as an excuse to launch the bloodiest of the purges. The novel strongly suggests, as do a number of Western historians, that Sta-

lin was responsible for the murder Many intellectuals consider Children of the Arbat to be the most important work of fiction by a Soviet author since Boris Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago, not least because it treats subjects that Soviet literature has never dealt with before. Rybakov's book is an attempt to come to literary terms with the Stalin era, just

as Pasternak tried to give literary mean-

ing to the Russian revolution and civil war of his own generation. But unlike Doctor Zhivago, which first appeared in Italian, Children of the Arbat is coming out in its author's native land and language

The book's publication is due in large part to Rybakov's patience. Says he: Twice before, in 1966 and 1978, it was announced that this book would be published. Both times it was stopped. This time I believe it will succeed." For all

those 20 years Rybakov rejected offers to publish it in the West despite the frustration of repeated rejection by Soviet authorities. "My people and my country need this novel," he says, "It must be published at home before it is published abroad."

The book obviously has high-level support. No apparatchik would have dared authorize it without powerful political backing. Rybakov does not know if Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev has seen it or cleared it. "The reason it is being permitted now must be that those on high must have felt it was timely and needed,' says Rybakov. "They must have realized that until we have eliminated the consequences of Stalinism in the psychology of our people we cannot move further forward. If we say we wish to live honestly and truthfully.

then we must be truthful about the past. We cannot bring up our

children on lies The first to agree with that proposition was Alexander Tvardovsky, former editor of the literary journal Novy Mir, which in 1962 published Alexander Solzhenitsyn's One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, a book about life in a Stalinist prison camp. Tvardovsky ran a notice in 1966 saying that the first part of Children of the Arbat would appear in 1967. It never did. In 1978 another monthly, Oktyabr, included Children of the Arbat in a list of books to be serialized in 1979. But again the year passed with neither publication nor explanation. The version that begins running this week in Druzhba Narodov, a publication of the Soviet Writers Union, is 600 pages long and will appear in the magazine's April, May and June issues. Rybakov expects that a Soviet publishing house will eventually produce a hardback

### World

Children of the Arbat is a popular success even before its appearance. The manuscript has been read and commented upon by half a dozen newspapers and magazines. Druzhba Narodov long ago stopped selling subscriptions because its limited press run of 150,000 copies has already been sold out. Thousands of would-be readers are on waiting lists for library copies, and subscribers report that friends are begging to read their copies. The black-market price of the April issue of Druzhba Narodov, which sells for 1 ru-

ble 10 kopecks (\$1.65), is expected to soar to more than 50 rubles (\$75). Meanwhile, foreign publishers are bidding briskly for rights, with offers reportedly running past \$100,000

Like Solzhenitsyn's work, Children of the Arbat is highly autobiographical and is as much nonfiction as fiction. Rybakov spent his childhood at 51 Arbat Street, where much of the action takes place. Many of the book's characters, including Stalin, his private secretary Alexander Poskrebyshev and Sergei Kirov, are real people. Most of the fictional characters are also patterned after actual Soviet citizens

"Sasha Pankratov is me. of course." says Rybakov of the main fictional character. "The parents are my own parents. The relatives and friends are fictional, but they are made up from parts of those I knew in my youth, so they are partly real people too. Every writer writes about his childhood."

Rybakov's early life was distressingly similar to many others in the Moscow of the 1930s, years of terror on a mass scale. He was vanked from his automotive-engineering studies in November 1933 during the political purges. After a week's interrogation he was sentenced to three years of exile in Siberia. He was charged under Article 58, a law used to arrest people for "assisting" in counterrevolutionary activity even though they had no idea what they were supposed to have done wrong and there was no evidence to support the charges. The article was a convenient catchall that secret-police officials used to fulfill their quotas for arrests.

"I went through the Lubyanka and Butyrka," Rybakov says, referring to the main prison processing centers in Moscow for political prisoners. From the Butyrka interrogation, which he describes in considerable detail in the novel, he was sent into exile in a series of villages in western Siberia. Rybakov shows a visitor photographs of himself as a handsome. dark-haired young man with laughing eves. Then he shows photos of a grim. tired, middle-aged-looking man with dead eyes. "The difference was only one year between these pictures," he explains. "I was very depressed after the arrest, for

I had done nothing. But I soon found out from others that if you did nothing you only got three years. If I had done something, they would have given me ten vears

Rybakov was lucky. In the still more terrible sweeps that took place later on. innocent victims were sentenced to long terms in labor camps or, in many cases, shot. The Siberian exile that the author endured was mild by comparison. After his three-year sentence. Rybakov drifted from village to village, taking jobs as var-





The lucky innocent ones got only three years in Siberia.

ied as truck driver and ballroom dance instructor. He never staved at one place more than a few months because his record as an "Article 58er" made him vulnerable to rearrest by authorities and to a prison-camp sentence.

All those experiences were raw material for his novel, but it was only after the passage of many years-and his 1960 "rehabilitation"-that Rybakov could bring himself to attempt the actual writing. " felt almost ashamed of what happened to me, because my sentence was brief and not very difficult alongside those who really suffered-those who were shot or

who spent 16 or 17 years in camps and came home with their health destroyed," Rybakov says. "And for many years I knew that because of my record, anything I wrote would never be published. But I did some writing anyway, and during the war I left all my notes with my parents in Moscow

After fighting with the Red Army as far as Berlin and winning medals for heroism. Rybakov returned home. "I went to the house at No. 51 Arbat, and suddenly it all came rushing back to me.

vivid and strong," he says. "All my friends, my comrades, were gonesome killed in the war, some killed before it, some gone to other things. I began moving toward the book

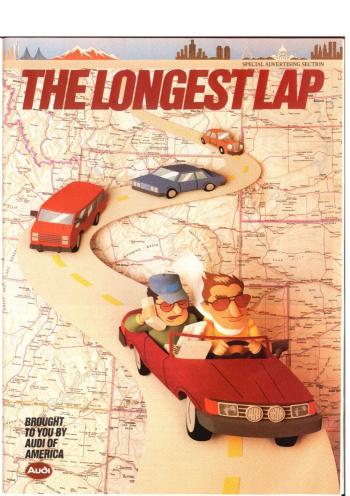
But before Rybakov could tackle it, he built a successful career as a children's novelist, winning praise for his first novel. The Dirk, in 1950 and following it with a sequel, The Bronze Bird, in 1956. Next came two more teen stories. The Adventures of Krosh and Krosh's Vacation, written in the early 1960s.

By then the country was in the midst of the cultural thaw of Khrushchev's destalinization, a time of extraordinary ferment in the arts. Rybakov wrote an anti-Stalinist novel, Summer in Sosnyak, about a girl whose parents were killed in the 1937 purges. It was relatively mild politically and appeared in Novy Mir but was later suppressed until the publication of Rybakov's collected works in 1982. In 1964 he started Children of the Arbat, but by that time the thaw was over and the long twilight of the Brezhnev era was setting in. "Tvardovsky, the courageous Novy Mir editor, told me, 'I'm a great fan and admirer of yours, but I can't do a thing," Rybakov says. "He said the magazine was in trouble, and he could not get the book published. Who objected to it? They never say. It's just somebody higher up. Always somebody higher up.

It is clear why some people would voice powerful objections. The book's characters represent a cross section of Soviet society of the Stalinist era. Those who lived

through it can see themselves in the story and the portrait is not always pretty "There is much that will be appearing for the first time," Rybakov said. "Many people of my generation will recognize themselves. This is an important step politically

Rybakov intends to take two more such political and literary steps. "I have already started the next part of the story, with the working title 1935 and Other Years. That will go through 1938," he says, "Then I want to write a third volume to cover the war. If God grants me six more years, I can do it." -By James O. Jackson/Moscow



### If you like to run the road less traveled...



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### You're ready for an Audi.

At Audi, we engineer cars for those who believe innovation and performance are the essence of driving excitement. It is a design philosophy intended "to challenge conformity." And it is a philosophy

that yields some rather impressive results.

That is why an aerodynamic Audi 5000 not only races with the wind but against it as well.

It is why the front-wheel drive system of an Audi allows for impressive traction and control even in adverse weather conditions.

It is how Audi became one of the first to pioneer such revolutionary engineering coups as computerized Anti-Lock Brakes (ABS) and the remarkable all-wheel drive system of the Audi Quattro.

And it is the reason that - no matter what model Audi you buy - Audi engineering delivers a car that handles expertly, brakes with assurance, and helps transport you safely in an environment of true performance luxury. (Qualities that, for the fourth straight year, have earned Audi a place on Car and Driver's 10 Best list.)

So if you're looking for the intelligent alternative to BMW and Mercedes, test drive an Audi soon. And see why- if you like to run the road less-traveled - you're ready for an Audi.

All 1987 Audis are covered by the Audi Assurance System which includes a 6a 3-year/50,000-mile limited worrantly on virtually everything else; plus a unique Roadside Assistance Program, a in the U.S. Auto Club, Motoring Dix, Inc. (See your dealer for details.) For more information, call: I-800-FOR-AUDI

### THE WORLD'S LONGEST ROAD RALLY: COMPELLING. GRUELING. OUT OF THIS WORLD.



Imagine driving round-the-clock, for 8,000 miles, monitoring every second of driving to average exactly 48,2 mph, with only a few chances to rest.

BY BROCK YATES

ince the dawn | of the age of technology, the most daring members of our species have squeezed into all manner of capsules and containers in the name of science and the expansion of man's horizons. Two people recently circumnavigated the globe nonstop in an airplane cockpit the size of a bathtub. An uncomfortable space, to be sure, things were further compounded by the deafening noise of the plane's engine. Others have poked around the hulk of the Titanic in a submarine about as commodious as an oil drum. Some plunge into the ocean inside

bathyspheres to explore its murky depths.

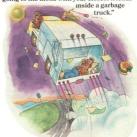
Such is the urge for adventure that lurks in the hearts of most of us, although we are generally restricted to vicarious participation, having more mundane needs to fulfill-like buying food and paying rent. James Thurber's Walter Mitty acted for us all in his secret life. And frankly, there's precious little more we can do to answer the call of destiny other than to follow the exploits of others.

But there is an alternative. It is called "One Lap of America" (official name: Uniroyal Goodrich One Lap of America). It offers, in a modest way, a shot at adventure, otherwise unavailable to the average citizen. Unless, of course, he or she is willing to become encased in a lttter-filled automobile with two or three other humans and remain there for a week, while navigating almost 8,000 miles of wild roads within the continental United States.

But requirements of the One Lap are fairly stringent. Contenders must log well over 1,000 miles, every 24 hours. If contestants are to operate within the speed limit, which the rules require, it becomes apparent that One Lap of America is nonstop, incessant, unrelieved, continuous, perpetual, Only at the halfway point are cabin-fever-crazed entrants permitted relief. There, at Redondo Beach, California-4,000 miles from the start in Detroit-participants are finally permitted an 18-hour overnight rest stop. Otherwise, it's "on the road again" around the clock.

This may well be a severe test of composure for the 100-odd teams who will participate in this year's One Lap.

This experience has been described as "going to the moon with your closest friends



# WHY ONE LAP OF AMERICA?

s founder and organizer of this road rally, I admit that's a valid question. This is time we'll be running the One Lap, and we're still seeking the answer. It has something to do with automobiles, adventure and that 20th-century siren call of the open road Since the One Lan's

inaugural in 1984, more

Rally, But, he can compete in the One Lap of America if he meets the requirements: over 21, a good driving record and of sound mind and body. That's where the Walter Mitty factor comes in. A lot of guys have gone home from One Lap to tell their pals "me and Parnelli" tales.

In past events, nerves have become frayed enough to cause mutinies. In 1984, one driver



full-blown onto the automotive scene in 1984. One might describe it as the second cousin of the woolly Cannonball Sea-to-Shining-Sea Memorial Trophy Dash-an unabashed race from New York to Los Angeles that started in 1971. With famed race driver Dan Gurney by my side, we won the first Cannonball at the wheel of a Ferrari Daytona, becoming the first to cross the United States, coast to coast, in under 36 hours.

When asked by the Los Angeles Times what speeds were required to record such a prodigious time, Gurney stated, "We never exceeded 170 mph."

The Cannonball was run four more times, with all manner of subterfuges: priestly disguises, bogus police cars and ambulances, all employed to delude the lawmen along the route.

The Cannonball had one rule: there were no rules. That elicited something less than complete support from the various state highway patrols.

Today, the early Cannonballs are the stuff of legend that prompted the creation of four motion pictures: Cannonball Run, Cannonball Run II, Gumball Rally and

Cannonball.

These old events
were, frankly, just goodnatured nose-thumbings
at the establishment. But
during the last one, run
in 1979, I knew it would
be the final Cannonball.
Yet, the raffish flavor of
these events seemed
worth salvaging.

So today, by replacing raw speed with endurance, as we do with One Lap, we maintain some of the epic quality of adventure, while operating below the speed limit. (The average speeds of One Lap are under 50 mph, and they are rigidly controlled throughout the run. We've logged more than 2.5 million miles of driving with no accidents.)

I confess, I feel a lot better running within the confines of the law. Some would describe that as maturity. Actually, it's just simple aging.



Iwo men from
Connecticut were in
Jacksonville, Florida, on the final
2,000 miles of the jaunt. Eyes
burning, nerves frayed, stomachs churning
from junk food, they passed an entrance
to the airport. "Stop the car," screamed the
co-driver. "Let me out. I can't stand it
any more!" He was last seen rushing into
the night, headed for the airport

than 1,000 hearty souls have run the rally. Top professionals like former World Champion Phil Hill and Indy 500 Champion Parnelli Jones have taken on the challenge, as have not-so-well-known professionals: doctors, lawyers and blue-collar Mardesmen.

The average car nut can't run in the Daytona 500 or the Monte Carlo

returned to his car after a brief gas stop, only to find his navigator absent. An ensuing search of the eneighborhood revealed nothing. Hours later, a call to the absentee's home found him sitting by the hearth. The madness of nonstop driving had addled his brain. He simply fled the automobile, made his way to the nearest airport and flew home.



Personal expression: Whether it's a passenger car or a lightweight truck, as long as the vehicle passes inspection, anything goes!

### If you like to run against the wind...



You're ready for an Audi.

An Audi driver seldom worries about which way the wind is blowing. It isn't that an Audi isn't susceptible to the wind. Like all cars, Audis have to deal with head winds, tail winds and crosswinds alike.

But, unlike most cars, the Audi 5000S has been engineered to offer as little resistance to the wind as possible.

Which puts the owners of the 5000S in a rather enviable position. The car they bought for its good looks just happens to be one of the most aerodynamically efficient luxury sedans in the world. With the incredibly low drag coefficient of 0.32.

In fact, virtually everything about an Audi is designed to reduce drag. From its flush-mounted windows to its aerodynamically correct alloy wheels, the Audi's shape not only runs against the wind, but also outsmarts it.

Couple that shape with front-wheel drive (which Audi pioneered over half a century gap) and our optional Anti-Lock Braking System (ABS) and the result is a car that handles responsively. Stops precisely. And slips through the wind quietly. (Qualities that, for the fourth straight year, have earned Audi a place on Car and Priver's 10 Best list.)

If you're now in the process of deciding which German performance sedan best suits you—the Mercedes, BMW or Audi—we urge you to test drive an Audi 5000§.

And experience for yourself the feeling of running against the wind.

All 1987 Audis are asvered by the Audi Assurance System<sup>31</sup> which includes a 6-year limited warranty against consistion perforation, a 2-year \$0,000 mile limited werranty on virtually everything else; plus unique Roodside Assistance Program — a 3-year membership in the U.S. Auto Materials Program for 10th upon define for data for for program depression and 1-300 DM AUDI.



### HOW DO YOU RUN ONE LAP OF AMERICA?

o the uninitiated, a rally involves a few sports cars gathering in a shopping center parking lot on a Sunday afternoon to embark on a raunt in the country. That's pretty tame stuff. Actually, a rally is a time-distance contest that requires competitors to run a route, while maintaining an exact schedule down to a fraction of a second. If you stray off the course. or arrive at a checkpoint either too late or too early. penalty points are accrued. The team (generally a driver and navigator) with the fewest penalty points wins.

In the old days, rally time was calculated with a pencil, pad and a calculator, Today, One Lap teams operate with exotic on-board computers that calculate average speed to the split second. When you consider that the last two One Laps were won by less than a minute, after 8,000 miles of driving, then you begin to realize how adventurous a sport this really is.

Along the One Lap route are a series of special rally sections or "Stages," Here, the route (unknown to the contestants) is dotted with checkpoints. Arriving at one of these timing stations ahead or behind schedule-timed to the second-accrues penalty points. Considering the built-in fatigue factor of the endless driving, these



official checkpoints too early or too late, they are hit with penalty points.

rally stages can frazzle the coolest of minds.

This year a new component has been added; a 'Performance Class" for production-type automobiles will challenge the rally sections and engage in a series of high-speed runs on some of

America's most famous road courses and test tracks.

Audi driver John Buffum, ten-time U.S. professional rally champion and the 1985 winner of One Lap, will be the man to beat. (He finished second in the 1986 event by a mere 9 seconds!) He will be at the wheel of a surefooted Audi 5000 CS Turbo Quattro for the third year in a row. Says Buffum, "One Lap may be the toughest race of its

kind anywhere. You're looking at 8,000 miles, through all kinds of weather and terrain, with many stages where splitsecond timing is a must. We have a great team, a great car and we're sure

going to give it our best." This Colchester, Vermont, professional is expected to face determined competition from Indianapolis 500 star Chip Ganassi, who's driving a factory-sponsored Dodge Daytona Shelby Z.

Buffum, Ganassi and other top drivers will compete on many tracks: the Indianapolis Raceway Park drag strip, site of the famed U.S. Nationals: road courses at Laguna Seca. Monterey. California: Road Atlanta. Gainesville, Georgia: Lime Rock Park, Lime Rock, Connecticut; and the Mid-Ohio Sports Car Course, Lexington, Ohio; as well as the Uniroval Goodrich high-speed test oval at Laredo, Texas, where speeds of 150 mph will be reached.



Staying on course: Team members keep their eyes on the road and on the computer reports they use to quide them along the One Lap.

No. of Contract of	1986	Score	1985	Score
Winner: Lead Driver:	Toyota Celica Karl Chevalier	34 points	Audi 5000 Turbo Quattro John Buffum	51 points
2nd Place: Lead Driver:	Audi 5000 CS Quattro Wagon John Buffum Finished 9 seconds later	43 points	Audi 5000 Turbo Quattro Tom Weaver Finished 53 seconds later	104 points
3rd Place: Lead Driver:	Ford Bronco Robert Martin Finished 25 seconds later	59 points	Chevy Blazer Walter Jominy Finished 125 seconds later	176 points

Timing is everything: In 1986, only 9 seconds made the difference between coming in first and coming in second. Will the 1987 One Lap be a close call?

### **EOUIPPING A WINNER**



the automobiles which compete in One Lap are ostensibly like the one you take to grandma's house each Thanksgiving, you might want to consider a bit of extra equipment before embarking on an 8,000mile rally:

1. Dashboard-mounted Terra-Trip ARC rally computers compute mileage to the hundredth of a mile and calculate time to the hundredth of a second. Crucial for maintaining the exact average speed in the rally sections. (Two computers are used to establish equipment redundancy.)

- 2. Digital clock for an overall time count reading during the entire nine-day running of the event.
- 3. Aircraft-type map reading light for navigating and calculating at night.
- 4. Citizens band radio for talking with competitors and determining road conditions ahead.
- 5. Escort or Passport radar detector to monitor speed.



- 7. Uniroyal Rally steelbelted, high-performance
- 12. Extra fuel tank (op-
- tional). If carried, it must conform to Sports Car Club of America safety codes and be totally fireproof.
- 13. Back seat rigged for sleeping.



Catching some "Z's": Rest is required when high performance is demanded.

Dashboard gizmos: Not the usual "dashboard-wear," One Lappers use sophisticated monitoring and communication devices to stay competitive.

radial tires required for all entrants. For the special rallycross track sections, all cars carry Goodrich T/A radials for highspeed operation.

- 8. Extra halogen fog and driving lights.
- 9. First aid kit and blanket.
- 10. Fire extinguisher.

parts.

11. Tools, road flares and a small inventory of spare

- 14. Provisions: apples, oranges, granola bars. soft drinks, chewable vitamin C tablets, etc.
- 15. Racing-type six-point seat-belt and shoulder harness: required for all Competition Touring cars, but optional for Touring Class machines.
- 16. Roll bar: required for Competition Touring Class cars, but optional for Touring vehicles.

### **GUESS WHO'S COMING TO ONE LAP?**

a former advertising executive, once ran the old Cannonball disguised as a priest. But during the 1985 One Lap, he faced his worst ordeal. Suffering from a broken ankle (he claimed it was from a bannister-sliding contest), Gilmartin rode with pals Steve "Yogi" Behr and Jim Bardia, a Michigan limousine designer. The trio stopped for sustenance in the dark of night in Red Bluff, California. Gilmartin was a bit slow in returning to the car. Bardia and Behr, in turn, thought he was asleep in the back seat compartment and left without him.

limited by a broken foot. He took a commuter flight to San Fransisco, then dashed on to Los Angeles by jet, where he rejoined his friends at the Redondo Beach lavover.

Rocky Aoki, the restauranteur and sole owner of Benihana, is a One Lap regular, In 1985. he entered a pristine 1959 Rolls Royce Silver Wraith, equipped with a microwave oven so he could heat up his frozen food products. Unfortunately, his team hit a giant blizzard in Montana There. One Lap's only recorded injury occurred when the oven came loose and whacked one of Rocky's compatriots on

the noggin.

Not everyone comnetes in the One Lap for



A sense of humor: Rocky Aoki, owner of Benihana and One Lap regular says, "Had we known the country was so big, we never would have attacked in 1941."

Mamaroneck, New York, who ran both the "85 and "86 events to raise funds for the Muscular Dystrophy Association. George has Muscular Dystrophy, but this does not deter him from making the grueling run. He plans to run in the rally this year.

Rental cars have become the rage among many One Lap entrants. It has been discovered that "one-week, unlimited mileage" programs fit nicely into the format. and a number of teams have taken advantage of the rental company's largesse. One ambitious team rented a Lincoln at New York's Kennedy Airport, took it to a garage and fitted it with all manner of rally gear and lights. Then they ran it 8.000 miles in a week. While the car was returned to the renters in good condition, the entrants were a bit nervous. what with all the excessive mileage on the odometer. But the rental folks said nothing, "In

New York, they were just thankful to have the car returned in one piece," the One Lappers reported.

Not everybody rents luxury cars. Last year, one team called upon the services of the Ugly Duckling rental car folks, who offered up an ancient auto that had been stolen once and wrecked twice. Despite 89,000 miles on the odometer, the old car completed the run with-

out serious trouble.
James X. Mullen, a
former winner of the
Sebring 12-hour endurance race and a competitor in the Cannonballs of
yore, once quoted P.T.
Barnum when ruminating
about why otherwise
normal citizens would
engage in the agony and
abuse that accompanies
nine days inside a fetid
automobile.

Mullen said: "Barnum once commented on trained circus fleas thusly, 'It isn't that they do it well; it's that they do it at all." Design: November And Lawrence

Design: November And Lawrence Paper sculpture: Ajin Cover map: © Rand McNally & Company



Undaunted, Gilmartin used some quick, creative thinking to catch up with his pals, even though his mobility was already personal gain. Over the years, a number of teams have run for charities, but none have been as courageous as George Fallar of

### If you like to run in the rain...



### You're ready for an Audi.

On the Autobahn. In the rain. Where there is no speed limit. On a clear day, driving the Autobahn can be exhilarating.

But when the weather turns nasty and the road gets slick, the Autobahn can be treacherous. Maybe that's why so many German drivers rely on the Audi.

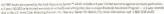
In the wet and slick of the Autobahn, proper traction is crucial. And unlike

Mercedes-Benz and BMW, only Audi offers both front-wheel and all-wheel drive traction. There's the front-wheel drive 4000S. The 5000 Series. And the permanently engaged all-wheel drive Audi Quattros. Any one of which helps provide drivers with the surefootedness they seek. In virtually any weather.

But Audi's philosophical commitment to "challenging conformity" doesn't stop here. Today's Audi is designed to help heighten the skills drivers already bring to the

only should is designed to help regimen the sains aniversi analogy and join in wheel. With the option of our computer-controlled Ant-Lock Broking System (ABS), on Audi 5000 not only holds the road in the rain, but also gives you the added assurance of stopping straight in the rain. (Qualifies that, for the fourth straight year, have earned Audi a place on Car and Driver's 10 Best list.)

Still, the only way you're going to discover how well an Audi handles is to drive one in the rain. So the next time the clouds roll over and the rain pours down...find yourself an Audi dealer and tell him you'd like to run in the rain.



### ONE LAP FACTS

### FORMAT: A long-distance road rally

circumnavigating the continental United States

### EVENT LENGTH:

7.983 miles: nine driving days

sections)

AVERAGE SPEED: 48.2 mph (excluding track

cars must carry approved safety equipment, including roll bars, special comnetition seat and shoulder restraints and must conform to SCCA technical regulations.

### COVERAGE:

NBC Sportsworld will air a one-hour special on the One Lap on May 17, 1987

### ONE LAP SCHEDULE

### APRIL 17

Start: 10:00 a.m. Uniroyal Test Center. Troy Michigan Special rally section, Western Michigan Special performance stage, Indianapolis Raceway Park, Clermont, Indiana

Tour, Indianapolis Motor Speedway

Special rally section, Rocky Mountains. Denver Colorado

Rest stop, Imperial Palace, Las Vegas, Nevada Special rally section. California high desert

### APRIL 20

Special performance stage. Laguna Seca Raceway, Monterey, California Rest stop, halfway standdown Portofino Inn. Redondo Beach. California

### APRIL 21

Restart: 9:00 a m Portofino Inn Special rally section. Western Arizona

Special performance section, Uniroval Test Track Laredo Texas

Special rally section. Central Mississippi Rest stop, Atlanta. Georgia

### APRIL 24

Special performance section. Road Atlanta. Gainesville, Georgia Special rally section. Blue Ridge Mountains, Virginia

### APRIL 25

Special performance section. Lime Rock Park. Lime Rock, Connecticut Rest stop, Lock, Stock and Barrel Darien, Connecticut

### APRIL 26

Special rally section, Eastern Ohio Special performance section, Mid-Ohio Sports Car Course, Lexington,

Finish: 1:00 p.m., Uniroyal Test Center, Troy, Michigan



### Sports Car Club of

America

### ORGANIZERS.

Cannonball Enterprises, Inc., Wyoming, New York International Management Group, Cleveland, Ohio

Public highways including interstates, selected test tracks, drag strips and road courses

Fully-licensed drivers. minimum age 21: maximum of four per vehicle

### VEHICLES:

Passenger cars and light trucks, fully licensed and inspected for use on American highways and in the Provinces of Canada. "Performance

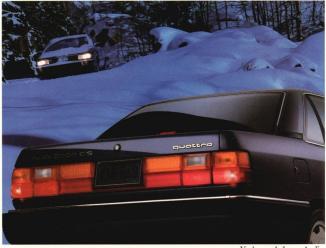
Class"



made the 1984 run with a lady friend. On this rocky road to romance. they became engaged. They ran again in 1985-on their honeymoon!



If you like to run through the snow...



On a hill. After a blizzard. When you're all alone.

#### You're ready for an Audi.

Having an Audi 5000 CS Turbo Quattro is a lot like being a kid after the first snowstorm. You just can't wait to get out there and play.

So, even when the wind is blowing. Even when the snow is drifting. Even when it's colder than you could ever imagine. It's still not all that bad. Because it's when things are at their worst, that you really appreciate what's best about an Audi. Inside there's an optional heated driver's seat. A heated passenger seat.

And even a heated rear seat.

Outside, even the sideview mirrors are heated. A small thing, but a nice thing to have when temperatures fall below freezing.

Then there's the Quattro's permanent all-wheel drive. A very nice thing to have, no matter what the weather. An almost necessary thing to have in weather like this. And the one thing Mercedes-Benz and BMW don't have.

Add to that our Anti-Lock Braking System (ABS), and you not only can run in the snow, you have more steering control when you stop in the snow.

At Audi, everything we do, we try to do better than our competition. On a

showroom floor, it's sometimes hard to see just where we did it better.

But in the snow, on a hill, in a Quattro, you don't need to see it.

You can feel it.

Audi

All 1987 Auds are covered by the Aud Assurance Sprises\*\* which includes a 6-year kinded vecrosity against corroson perforation, a 3-year/36.000-mile limited worontly on via energyling shee, piles a unique Rodalide Assistance Program — a 3-year membership in the U.S. Auto Club, Motoring Division, Inc. (See your dealer for details.) For more informa

If you like to run through the desert...



You're ready for an Audi.

On a dirt road. In the desert. In the dark. There's not a stoplight or streetlight between here and where you're going. And if the road's a little bumpy, at least you've got it all to yourself. And anyway, that's why you bought an Audi Turbo Quattro.

Two-hundred miles of semi-bad road are going to test your skills and the Quattro's all-wheel drive traction. It's also going to make you appreciate your Audi even more.

One of the things that quickly earns your respect is the way Audi engineered its turbocharger. Not content to follow the crowd, Audi added an intercooler and a second water pump to the system. In the heat of all-out driving, the results are better performance and longer life. And to help bring all that speed to a controlled stop, there's Audi's Anti-Lock Braking System (ABS). The idea of being able to quickly brake and still retain control of where the car goes is an idea whose time has definitely come.

Which is probably why more and more people are coming around to Audi's way of thinking. Our technical innovations have certainly impressed Car and Driver. For the fourth straight year they've named us to their "Ten Best" list.

But then Audi always had a reputation for building cars serious drivers took seriously. Especially when serious drivers want to have a little fun.

Audi Turbo Quattro. In the desert. In the dark. Interested?

All 1987 Audis are covered by the Audi Assurance System™ which includes a 6-year limited warrantly against correction perfor a 2-year / 50,000-mile limited warrantly on virtually everything else, plus a unique Roadside Assistance Program — a 3-year r

#### World Notes





ossar: vehement denials



Tamil guerrillas: fighting for an independent homeland

INDIA

#### Hanging Out The Dirty Linen

For weeks Prime Minister Raiiv Gandhi has been under fire for his party's poor performance in recent state elections and for his high-handed treatment of Indian politicians. Last week Gandhi sparked the gravest crisis of his career by forcing Defense Minister V.P. Singh, widely regarded as the ablest and most honest member of the Cabinet, to resign. Singh stepped down after he was bitterly attacked by Gandhi loyalists for authorizing probes into illegal financial dealings and military-contract kickbacks that promised to embarrass the Prime Minister.

In Parliament, Singh's resignation sparked angry debate. Opposition politicians taunted the Prime Minister, who took office in 1984 with a reputation for personal probity, with the refrain "Where's Mr. Clean?"

#### **Bold Tribute To a Hero**

HUNGARY

In Eastern Europe, official gestures often have hidden meanings. The statue just erected in Budapest honoring Swedish Diplomat Raoul Wallenberg was no exception. Wallenberg, who is credited with saving the lives of thousands of Hungarian Jews destined for Nazi concentration camps, disappeared shortly after being taken into Soviet custody when Hungary was liberated by the Allies in 1945. He is believed to have died while in a Soviet prison.

Moscow has never fully explained either the circumstances of his death or why it had him arrested in the first place, though some historians suggest that the Soviets condiered him a U.S. agent. Thus far the statue of Wallenberg, a Wallenberg, and for former U.S. Ambassador to Hungary Nicolas Salgo hidrawn no official comment from Moscow or Budapest.

ISRAFI

#### Once More on The Hot Seat

The last thing that Shin Bet, Israel's equivalent of the FBI. needs is the hint of fresh scandal. The agency has been reeling from charges that it covered up the murders of two captured Arab bus hijackers in 1984, an affair that led eleven top Shin Bet officials to accept a presidential pardon in order to avoid possible criminal charges. Yet last week, amid newspaper headlines that screamed NEW SCANDAL, more trouble is exactly what Shin Bet got.

The case centers on Azat Napso, an army lieutenant convicted in 1980 on charges of spying for the Palestine Liberation Organization. Through-

out his military trial Napso, now 32, maintained his innocence, claiming that some of the evidence presented against him had been tampered with. Last February, under a new law permitting Israel's Supreme Court to review military verdicts, Napso won the right to an appeal. It is scheduled to be heard in late May.

The Israeli press quickly identified the head Shin Bet investigator in the Napso case as Yossi Ginossar, who resigned from the agency in the bus-hijacking scandal. Ginossar, now director of the state-owned Israel Export Institute, issued a statement through his lawver that news reports linking him to evidence tampering in the Napso case "were without any basis in reality." Shin Bet officials, who for security reasons want to avoid a public airing of their methods and operations in open court, have sounded out Napso on the possibility of a pardon. So far, he has rebuffed the entreaties.

SRI LANKA

#### Horror on a Jungle Road

The incident was a terrifyingly familiar episode in Sri Lanka's bloody four-year-old civil war—except for its gruesome magnitude. Last week separatist Tamil rebels, who are fighting for an independent homeland in Northern and Eastern provinces, waylaid six vehicles with mostly Sinhalese holidaymakers returning home from celebrating the Sri Lankan New Year. The rebelse dragged passengers, including women and children, from the buses and trucks, then mowed them down with machine-gun fire. When the shooting stopped, at least 126 travelers lay dead on the jungle roadside. The violence prompted the government to rebels and ended, for now, any realistic hones for neexitations.

TRAVEL

#### Irish Eyes Are Frowning

Most of the fare in London's tabloids is designed to titillate and tickle. Officials in Dublin, however, were not amused by one story appearing last week in the Sunday People, a racy Fleet Street rag. The paper charged that for more than four years the passport officer at the Irish embassy in London had sold false Irish passports to foreigners. The price: as much as \$24,000 apiece. The story further alleged, although it provided no evidence, that the official. Kevin McDonald. 37. may have sold some of the bogus documents to "Libyans. Iranians. Lebanese and others" from states associated with terrorism. Irish authorities reportedly relieved Mc-Donald of his embassy duties and then ordered him back to Dublin.

#### **Economy & Business**

# A Break in The Action

Texaco's Chapter 11 buys time—and maybe more

he case won immediate fame as the biggest bankruptcy in U.S. history. Last week it threatened to become one of the most bewildering and perhaps most bitterly contested business crises in modern memory. The \$10 billion legal battle royal between Texaco and Pennzoil clearly entered a new and murky phase after the country's third-ranking oil company (1986 sales: \$32.6 billion) made its bombshell decision on Sunday, April 12, to file for Chapter 11 protection. Whichever side was right in the dispute the horrendous legal tangle surrounding the two firms vastly increased-along with the business uncertainty

Nonetheless, as New York Bankruptcy Judge Howard Schwartzberg assumed his overseeing duties with Texaco. it seemed to many analysts that the company had suddenly gained the upper hand in the high-stakes brawl it had appeared to be losing. Said Sanford Margoshes, an oil analyst at the Shearson Lehman Bros. investment firm: "Texaco has bought time. Its prospects are not as bleak." Wall Street seemed to agree. When the New York Stock Exchange opened trading after Texaco's bankruptcy filing, the company's stock dropped from 31% to 28% a share. Then the holdings rebounded, closing last week at 311/4. Pennzoil shares, which had surged from 791/4 to 921/4 during the previous week, plunged by more than 15 points the day after the Chapter 11 action and closed the week at 78

Pennzoil's combative chairman, J. Hugh Leidike, 65. had overreached himself in the dispute. It has dragged on since No-Silo 5 billion judgenent against Texaco for inducing Getty Oil to break a merger agreement with Leidike's Houston-based firm. Shortly before the bankruptsy. Texcourt claiming that any settlement over court claiming that any settlement over \$500 million would trigger defauls. Liedike, on the other hand, said he turned down a Texaco offer of \$2 billion two

The Big Board seemed to judge that

could get it after a 9-to-0 Supreme Court decision that week referred the legal war back into Texas courts. Many analysts currently believe Pennzoil will be lucky to get \$1 billion years from now. Liedtke insists that "Texaco can't frighten anyone into settling by declaring bankruptcy. We will win ultimately."

Lawyers for both sides showed up list week at a Houston appeals-court hearing, which had been mandated by the Superme Court decision, on whether Texaco should be required to put up a bond for some \$10 billion while continuing to appear to the superment of the s

Meanwhile, the U.S. was faced with the spectacle of a healthy corporation sheltering under laws ostensibly intended for the weak and ailing. As Anthony Ludovici, an oil analyst for the Tucker, Anthony & R.L. Day investment firm, put it, "While Texaco will be in bankruptcy, Texaco work be a bankrupt company."

Quite the contrary. Taking advantage of liberalized bankruptcy laws enacted in 1978, which no longer require corporations to demonstrate that they are insolvent, the oil giant is immune, for the moment, from far more than the debilitating bond judgment. Pennzoil can no longer slap liens, as it was reportedly preparing to do, on up to \$8 billion in Texaco assets. With \$3 billion already in reserve, Texaco no longer has to pay \$630 million worth of annual interest on \$7 billion in normal business debts. Nor is it required to pay dividends on 242.3 million outstanding common shares, an estimated saving this year of nearly \$727 million.

Texaco's future financial position may be even better. Only Texaco's principal holding company and two financial subsidiaries are huddling within Chapter 11. Dozens of operating subsidiaries

around the world are carrying on business as usual. They will help keep Texaco's annual cash flow close to \$3.6 billion and its anticipated profit this year higher than anticipated profit this year higher than rect grasp. That wrinkle took Chairman Liedlek by surprise. As he told Time, "I thought that when we were suing Texaco, we were suing all of Texaco." Liedlethe has claimed that Texaco illegally transferred assets, including its sprawling rethery in panies during the litigation to prevent their selzure.

Ultimately, though, Texaco may pay a heavier price for its bold gambit. For one thing, all of Texaco's regular creditors have been bludgeoned by the Chapter 11 device; their goodwill is important to the oil firm's longer-range survival. Among others. Texaco owes Chase Manhattan Bank \$2.95 billion and Manhattan's Bankers Trust and Manufacturer's Hanover Trust an additional \$1.5 billion. Outwardly, many of Texaco's creditors and lenders are serene about the situation. But at one major Manhattan bank with several hundred million dollars' worth of Texaco corporate notes on deposit, a senior executive admits to "angst and anxiety" over the bankruptcy filing. Venezuela's state-owned oil company has hinted that it may shut off shipments of crude to Texaco: the Venezuelans have been discussing the matter with Texaco Chief Executive James Kinnear

Texaco stockholders are likely to feel anxious soon. Some of them "could be



wiped out" by the bankruptcy, according to one legal expert. Many of the large institutional investors that hold Texaco stock are forbidden by various rules and regulations to own securities that fail to pay dividends. But even those that are not so constrained are unhappy. Harold Ofstie, for example, is portfolio manager of Philadelphia-based Delaware Management, which owns 3.7 million Texaco shares. The bankruptcy filing means a projected loss of \$11.1 million in annual dividend income for Delaware. Says Ofstie: "We understand the reasons why Texaco went into Chapter 11. But we're an income-oriented investment company, and Texaco doesn't have a yield anymore. That's a problem we can't ignore." As time passes. Wall Street analysts expect that big investors will steadily dump millions of Texaco shares onto the market.

Under Chapter 11, Texaco's top management will operate much as it usually does. One of the attractions of the relaxed 1978 bankruptcy laws is that day-to-day management of an affected firm remains in the hands of its executives rather than those of a court-appointed trustee. Bankruptcy judges like Texaco's Schements of the property of the court of the court of the and acquisition of major assets, in consultation with committees of creditors.

But bankruptcy may feel downright unpleasant for Texaco's management if Pennzoil has its way on those committees. Rather than fight the bankruptcy frontally, the Houston company has apparently embarked on a more subtle strategy. based on its role as one of Texaco's major creditors. Says Pennzoil Attorney Irvin Terrell: "Texaco has got a lot of other partners now—banks, trade partners and us. Their affairs will be under the view of the bankruptcy court, and the creditors will have a say. We hope Pennzoil will have the largest say."

ennzoil's bankruptcy counsel, Michael Crames, insists that Texaco will not be able to borrow, offer collateral, sign leases or enter new lines of business without court permission. Says Crames: "Texaco is going to have to live in a goldfish bowl." As a member of Texaco's soon-to-be-formed unsecuredcreditor committee, Pennzoil will have access to some of Texaco's sensitive documents and will be in a position to demand many more. Says Chairman Liedtke: "We want to make sure their money is spent wisely. We want to know everything." Texaco executives have said they will refuse to accede to paper chases outside the requirements of bankruptcy law. Ripostes Texaco Bankruptcy Counsel Harvey Miller: "Creditor committees don't run businesses.

Unquestionably, the hygienic solution for both sides would be to reach a settlement that will allow Texaco to emerge from its Chapter II ecocon. Executives at the oil giant have suggested such a possibility, maybe an indication that Texaco is using its bunkruptcy as bargaining leverage against its smaller opponent. Manhattan Attorney Richard Lieb detects a more

nuanced strategy in Texaco's Chapter II filing. By keeping most of its operating companies out of bankruptcy, he says, Texaco has issued an "open invitation to continued bargaining." Since bankruptcy does not involve the entire company, he argues, "it may be Texaco's way of saying, "You see, we haven't completely closed the door to negotiations. Here's an incentive to keep talking."

the to keep taking.

But there is substantial disincentive.

But there is substantial disincentive terms too easily: the possibility of shared terms too easily: the possibility of shared too easily: the possibility of shared too enversations with TIME, Penzul's Liedtke said fear of just such litigation played a role in his rejection of Texaco settlement offers that he thought were included to the control of the control of

Now that the elaborate bankruptes, mechanism has been engaged in the Tex-aco-Pennzoil case, it will grind on, per-haps for years. Pennzoil has so far spent at least \$30 million in its legal bouts with Texaco, which in turn has spent several times that amount. Pennzoil, ominously enough, has built up a \$300 million legal kirty to carry on the firsy, \$30 yet pengation of the pental pent

#### **Economy & Business**



Clampdown in the financial community: suspects are led away from Manhattan court

#### **Sniffing Out a Line of Coke Brokers**

Operation Closing Bell turns up drug dealing on Wall Street

he behavior of the stockbrokers at The behavior of the success and Brooks, Weinger, Robbins & Leeds might have made for a biting off-Broadway play about sleazy morality on Wall Street-if only the firm were fictional. The young professionals at the Manhattan penny-stock trading firm allegedly sold cocaine in stairwells, traded drugs for insider stock tips and routinely signed false names on important documents, among other offenses. Last week seven of the not-so-satirical brokerage employees were hauled away in handcuffs as part of a 19-person drug bust; it was one of the biggest undercover actions ever carried out in the Manhattan financial district. The bust's fitting code name: Operation Closing Bell.

Rumors of heavy use of occaine and other drugs have long been endemic on Wall Street, where incomes are often astronomical and the competitive pressure hyperintense. Besides the Brooks brokers federal agents arrested a worker and one at Advest, a midsize brokerage, and one at Advest, and so that the state of the competitive processing the state of the brown of the competitive processing house where some \$2.2 critilion in stock and bond certificates are stored for safekeeping.

Criminal charges against the Brooks employees involved only drug possession and sale, mostly of cocaine. Brockers at the firm allegedly dispensed the drug by the ounce to customers and colleagues as a way to gain a competitive edge. But there is apparently more to come. Investigators practice of the process of the control of the process of the process of the process of the process of the control of the control of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The case that broke open last week was only the first chapter in an extensive clampdown on drug dealing in the financial community. Authorities initially picked up the trail in Brooklyn, where they took notice of a mink-coated brunet named Theresa Masi. A known consort of drug dealers with Mafia connections, Masi made regular rounds of Wall Street executive suites. Authorities learned that Masi was delivering cocaine weekly to five top-level managers. Under a lawenforcement policy to charge dealers only, those users were never prosecuted. but their descriptions of drug consumption on Wall Street inspired the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency to launch an undercover probe.

Infiltrating Brooks was not terriby difficult. After going to work for the firm as an assistant broker, one undercover agent claims she was soon appraached by colleagues who tapped their noses and asked if she "partied." Apparently the Brooks dealers were just as indiscreet in their activities outside the office. A DEA affidavit cites one instance in which a Brooks employee sent a customer a free sample of heroin via the company's messener service.

In more respectable Wall Street circles, brokers winced at yet another black eye for the beleaguered stock-trading industry but applauded the sweep. Top officials at better-known brokerages claimed that the underrover action came partly as a result of their complaints about drug dealing in Wall Street's plazas and office corridors. Said one top stock market exectutive of the busted brokers: "They are the dregs of the industry." — By Stephen Koopp. Reported by Edins Shannon/Rev Vol.

#### **Mellon Muscle**

Reclaiming a family bank

e still face profitability chal-lenges," Mellon Bank Chairman J. David Barnes warned shareholders a year ago in the Pittsburgh-based institution's annual report. It was an accurate prophecy. The nation's twelfth largest bank holding company (current assets. \$34.4 billion) earlier this month reported a quarterly loss of nearly \$60 million-the first in its 118-year history-and watched shares plummet in just nine days from nearly 51 to around 38. Last week Barnes. 57, faced a new challenge: finding a job. One of the nation's best-known families of financiers and philanthropists had taken charge again of the bank bearing its name. ousting the chairman in the process

Barnes' tenure was relatively brief but superheated. After becoming chairman in 1981, the Harvard-educated lawyer pumped Mellon loans to energy companies in the Southwest and beefed up its real estate portfolio in Dallas and other oil towns. The lending and real estate business foundered along with OPEC: energy-related loans now account for more than half of Mellon's \$1.45 billion in write-offs and nonperforming assets. Mellon also has \$178 million in repossessed properties, a sixfold increase from what it owned in late 1984. Bad loans to Mexico and Brazil further crimped the bank's strained resources. To make matters worse. Barnes soured relations in 1984 with a longtime local client, Gulf, by deciding to lend \$150 million to Corporate Raider T. Boone Pickens, who had previously tried to take over Gulf.

All this was finally too much for the heirs of both Founder Thomas Mellon and his son Andrew, who was Treasury Secretary to Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Only one direct descendant, Seward Prosser Mellon, 44,

still serves on the board, but family members together hold 15% of the bank's stock, providing effective control. They picked as Barnes' acting replacement Nathan Pearson, 75, a longtime financial advis-

er to Philanthropist Paul Mellon, who holds 9% of the bank's shares. Heading the search committee that begins meeting this week to find Barnes' successor is Andrew Mathieson, who advises the heirs of Andrew Mellon's nephew, Richard King Mellon. Two names are believed to have the committee's interest: David Nordby, 47, executive vice president of Chicago's Continental Illinois Bank; and Silas Keehn, 56, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. Both were promising Mellon executives who moved on after Barnes became chairman. One factor that could favor Nordby: colleagues say he is an expert at dealing with had loans

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Front MacPherson struts

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rear seats with headrests ■50/50 split-fold rear seat Rear seat heat ducts Rear window defroster Illuminated Entry System: lighted keyhole

and ignition Reminder tones for headlamps-on, ignition and seat belts

Passenger-side underseat storage tray Removable cargo-area storage tray

Remote fuel door release Remote hatchback

release Tinted glass

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#### **Economy & Business**

#### Taxing Days of Change for IRAs

A savings plan is mourned

For millions of Americans, last week was the final chance to cash in on one of the greatest tax breaks of all time: the Individual Retirement Account, or IRA. Since 1982, when IRAs became available to all workers, some \$3.20 billion has been to all workers, some \$3.20 billion has been the handy, tay, definitible, tax-deferred the handy, tay, definitible, tax-deferred savings wehicles. With tax reform, however, the rate at which IRA money will be saved beginning in the 1987 tax year

however, that they are less likely to use the savings device. In putting together last year's tax package, the Senate Finance Committee discovered that in 1984, less than 8% of all households with incomes under \$30,000—a group representing 76% of U.S. taxpayers—made IRa contributions. At the same time, 59% of all households with incomes above \$50,000

invested in IRAs.

For banks, mutual funds and other institutions that manage IRAs, the challenge last week was to tell customers the difference between the new and old rules—and to promote new clients. Fidelity Investments, an \$80 billion Boston-based mutualfund group, gave its round-the-clock crew of telephone operators special training in



could fall drastically. Amid the crush to use the plan for a 1986 deduction, money managers were struggling hard to educate consumers about the future, and occasionally mourning the passing of a friend. Moaned David Zaslow, a partner in the Los Angeles accounting firm of Roth Bookstein & Zaslow: "The new tax laws crippled the IRA."

Under the rules that expired on April 15, virtually all taxpayers in the 87 million U.S. households could take a deduction on their IRA contributions of up to \$2,000 a year; they pay no income taxes on their investments until they retire. Now only single taxpayers earning \$25,000 or less and married couples with incomes of \$40,000 or less can take the full IRA deduction. (Taxpayers in any income bracket who have no pension or profit-sharing plan at their workplace can do the same.) Single people earning between \$25,000 and \$35,000, and married couples with incomes between \$40,000 and \$50,000, can take partial deductions. Income on all IRA investments will continue to accumulate tax-free.

In theory, about 90% of U.S. taxpayers remain eligible for the full IRA deduction next year. The evidence suggests, how to explain the new tax code to wouldbe investors. Citibank (1986 revenues: \$144.8 billion) programmed computer terminals in 200 branches to answer questions about IRAs and responded to thousands of queries.

Financial advisers are divided about whether a postreform IRA makes sense for people who can no longer claim the full \$2.000 deduction. Some money managers point out that the same limited tax break can easily be found in a taxexempt municipal bond. Unlike the IRA. it imposes no penalties for early withdrawal. But some workers, at least, are still happy with the prospect of a stripped-down IRA. Richard Brody, 57, a New York City-based department-store buyer, plans to contribute to his retirement account next year even though he will be entitled to no tax deduction. On the other hand, John Sullivan, 42, an executive at Marine Terminals in San Francisco, has been making the maximum IRA contribution for the past three years, but will no longer do so. Says Sullivan: "I'm going to put the money into speculative stocks -By Barbara Rudolph.

stocks." — By Barbara Rudolph.
Reported by Jay Branegan/Washington and
Christine Gorman/New York

#### Attack of Sticker Shock

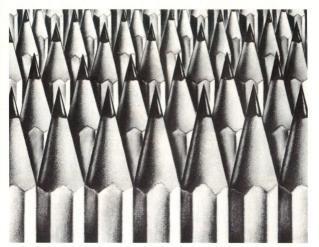
Mortgage rates jump sharply

Is the Great American Housing Party over? In 1981 U.S. mortgage rates began declining from a peak of 16% to less an 5% earlier this year. During that shall be some some state of the state

In just two weeks the national average interest rate on a 30-year fixed-rate mort-gage jumped from 9.25% to 10.25%, and at some banks to about 11%. A 1 percent-age point increase on a \$100,000 miles and \$100,000 miles and

Lenders laid the blame for the increase on the bond market, where interest rates have risen sharply in recent weeks in reaction to the widening U.S. trade deficit and the falling value of the dollar. Home loans are now more sensitive to volatility in such markets because of a trend known as "securitization." That is a process in which lending institutions repackage their home loans as securities for resale to other investors rather than collect interest and principal themselves. The practice makes mortgage rates more sensitive to economic flareups. Even so, most financial experts contend, securitization keeps home loans more affordable. Reason: lenders can tap funds from a huge financial marketplace rather than just from local savings deposi-

Economists generally believe the mortgage shudders are unlikely to become a long-term trend. Contends Lyle Gramley, chief economist for the Mortgage Bankers Association of America: "There is no reason for interest rates to continue going up. That would slow the economy so much that the run-up wouldn't be sustained.' But the abrupt halt to the flow of ever cheaper mortgage money might handicap an otherwise healthy homebuilding industry. Last week the Commerce Department reported that housing starts during March fell to an annual rate of 1.77 million, a 3.2% drop from the previous month



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ABLE ON VIDEOCASSET

#### **Slowly Turning the Corner**

Aquino sets the Philippines on the way to recovery

W hen Philippine Finance Minister | Jaime Ongpin returned to Manila last month after 27 days of tough bargaining in New York City, he was jubilant. With reason: the patrician Ongpin had won an impressive new financial deal from U.S. and foreign bankers for the still struggling government of President Corazon Aquino. Payments on nearly half of the country's \$28.2 billion foreign debt had been rescheduled at interest rates nearly 40% lower than the banks had originally demanded, saving about \$1 billion. Ongpin had also won approval for a novel method of turning some of the remaining interest into badly needed foreign investment. Said Betty Starkey, an analyst at Multinational Strategies, a Manhattan-based economic-consulting firm: "The Philippines has pulled off a

By last week, however, Ongpin was much less sanguine. At a Manila press conference, he announced that the Philippines might reject this hard-won arrangement. The reason: hard-pressed Argentina had reportedly secured even more favorable terms on the repayment of its staggering foreign debt. Ongpin said the Aquino government demanded further negotiations to alter a deal "Nased on false

The renewed debt standoff came just as there appeared to be fragile signs of economic renewal in the lattered Philipmes (pep. 5 million). After two years of economic seed of the period of the period

That is surely good news for Aquino, whose People Power revolution helped drive former Strongman Ferdinand Marcos from office just over one year ago. Since then she has been beset with a mild flurry of rightist plots aimed at either unseating her or destabilizing her government. An 18-year Communist insurgency stopped briefly but resumed with a vengeance last February. For the economy, the result was that the Philippine GNP. which had dropped 5.6% in 1984 and another 3.8% in 1985, continued to fall through the first half of 1986 before ticking up an almost unnoticeable .13% by the end of the year. Per capita income suffered a 15% cut, particularly cruel since an estimated 70% of the population live below the poverty line.

Stark need and the Communist insurgency have given Aquino a severe challenge on two fronts: achieving both economic recovery and political stability. Economically, Aquino has fought back with, among other things, an adjustment program negotiated last October with the International Monetary Fund. The IMF promised to lend the Philippines roughly \$330 million while insisting on limitations to monetary growth and fiscal restraint along with basic changes in the country's protectionist economy.

Many of those changes either have emade or are under way. A program of tariff cuts and import liberalization has begun for a broad range of goods, including machinery, rubber tires and textiles. Rafael Alunan, a strongly nationalist lo60% to 35%, while a broad range of special exemptions has been eliminated. In the same egalitarian vein, the country's sugar and excount monopolies, long in the hands of Marcos cronies, have been disbanded. The world price paid for copra, or ecocount meat, has increased 250% in the past year; thanks to trust busting, money that once went to monopolists now goes to farmers. In the effort to purge Marcos-ayie cronyism from the economy, scores of nonperforming public enterprises that had languished in the hands of paid and the strends are stated to be said off and in the friends are slated to be said off.

The sobering fact, though, is that the Philippine economy must continue to grow at the projected 6% rate for the next four years just to bring per capita income back to where it was in 1981. Along with



Cleaning up a protectionist economy: Filipino workers sort harvested shrimp for export

cal manufacturer of synthetic fibers, decries such moves as a "form of economic slavery, a way to keep us poor." Nonetheless, by April 1988, 90% of the country's imports should be free of quotas.

Aquino's government has also instituted a version of Reaganomic tax reform. The top tax rate has been cut from



Finance Minister Ongpin in Manila

Nixing a deal "based on false premises."

that daunting prospect, the Aquino government faces the critical issue of land reform. The Philippine population is growing at 2.5% annually; many of the children are born into families of landless, impoverished peasants. They are a prime recruiting source for Communist rebels.

Last February the government announced a multibillion-dollar five-year plan to redistribute the nation's 22 million cultivated acres. (President Aquino's family plantation, the 14,000-acre Hacienda Lusita, would be included.) But it is almost certain that the new Philippine congress, to be elected May 11, will water greater than the new Philippine conmitted that the property of the prowill remain heavily dependent on foreign economic assistance.

What the Philippines needs now is massive investment, and that in turn will depend on how well Aquino continues to handle her political problems. Aside from efforts by foreign companies already in place, little new direct foreign investment has entered the country since she took presidential office. But so far as Western banks are concerned, the awkward problem is that the latest fusing over debt agreements has delayed a cautious vote of confidence in the confidence of the confidence of the confidence in

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#### **Business Notes**







Gold stocks are stacking up profits

Smuggled hooch goes down the Customs hatch

AUTOS

#### Time to Take

Life has been tough at General Motors. The No. 1 U.S. automaker has shut plants, laid off thousands of workers and otherwise struggled to regain an eroding market share. Now, with labor contract talks coming soon, GM is taking a new step on the road to austerity: lavish annual cash bonuses for executives will be replaced by stock options tied to GM's financial performance.

But the cash-bonus plan, in use since 1918, enjoyed one last hurrah. Chairman Roger Smith and 5,459 fellow employees received \$169 million in bonuses for 1986, a year in which company profits dropped by \$1 billion. Smith's package adds a \$335,000 cash bonus and a so-called performance of the second profits of the second profits

INVESTING

#### Getting Bullish On Bullion

Looking for an investment that outshines the rest? The best choices seem to be as old as them thar hills: gold and silver. A study by Lipper Analytical Securities shows that mutual funds specializing in gold stocks accounted for 16 of the top 20 fund performers in the first quarter. At the same time, a group of 14 silver-mining stocks enjoyed a 78.6% rise in

Why? For the first time this decade, U.S. consumption of silver has outstripped production, pushing prices from a \$5-to-\$6 range past \$7 an oz. Meanwhile, mutual funds specializing in North American gold, such as Van Eck Gold/ Resources and U.S. New Prospector, benefited from money fleeing South African investments. The extended bull market in stocks has also played a role, as investors have taken profits and sought safe alternatives.

SMUGGLING

#### Shades of Eliot Ness!

In the heyday of Prohibition. Americans looked northward for booze, as truckloads of illicit liquor poured from Canada into a thirsty U.S. These days the high-proof smuggling traffic is operating in reverse, as Canadians try to get around their country's steep taxes on hooch. A 11/4-liter bottle of Smirnoff vodka sells for as much as \$26.50 in Canada. with taxes accounting for nearly \$22 of the price. A similar size bottle can be had for only \$16 across the border in New York, "There's little stigma at-

tached to smuggling liquor," says William McKissock, a senior Canada Customs antismuggling officer, "It's a lot easier to sell a case of Scotch than a kilo of cocaine."

The opportunity has been big to pass up. Smugglers last year ferried as many as 2 million cases of boxe into Canada, hiding the stuff in everything from false oil tanks to Winnebagos to the doors of ordinary autos. Annual cost to Canada's federal and provincial governments: up to \$151 million in lost revenues.

Canadian officials seem overwhelmed by the illegal flood along the 398f-mile borders of the reason is that thousand the seem of the seem o

OII

#### They Call It Drilling 101

What do Harvard, Yale and Wellesley have in common? Aside from ivied halls, all three schools are in the oil and gas business, along with Duke and the University of North Carolina. Together they have anted up nearly \$100 million for wildcatting ventures, chiefly in the Gulf of Mexico.

Harvard is the biggest plunger, having handed \$50 million to a Houston-bused consortium. The backers insist that putting money into drilling is a brainy idea, even though energy prices are in the doldrums. Insists Scott Spering, a partner in Harvard's investment unit: "We're getting in near the bottom."

CONSTRUCTION

#### His Assets Are Truly Liquid

Howard Fields, 39, is making an outlandish splash in business. Three years ago, the Sausalito, Calif., entrepreneur plunged into the world of exotic-swimming-pool and -pond design. Now he is a leading creator of aquatic fantasies with about 200 projects to his credit. Among them: a \$3 million pool masquerading as a river that flows for the equivalent of six city blocks at a Puerto Rican resort. At Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel, Fields is working on a \$1 million, 3.000-sq.-ft. lake that will feature hundreds of live koi fish, 100-ft. waterfalls and a piano perched on an arti-

All that sloshing around pays off. Fields' 14-employee firm, Howard Fields & Associates, last year exceeded \$1 million in revenues. Says he: "Call me a water swami." But never call him all wet.



Editor Roberts, third from right, surrounded by winners in the city room

#### **Press**

#### Philadelphia Stories

In a new pride of Pulitzers, three go to the Inquirer

Journalists, a cynical lot by nature, are often skeptical of press awards. As prizes have proliferated, they note, so has prizes have proliferated, they note, so has certain gene of newspaper story; the multipart series that takes on a big substitution of the properties of the prop

Still, these projects often are examples of daily journalism at its best: dogged, committed reporting that illuminates local problems and helps bring about change. Several such stories were honored last week with the newspaper world's most coveted award, the Pulitzer Prize. The Philadelphia Inquirer, in an unusual coup, won two in the same category, investigative reporting. One went to John Woestendiek, whose day-to-day coverage of the prison beat led him to probe the case of Terence McCracken Jr., a teenager convicted of murdering an elderly man during a holdup. Woestendiek's yearlong investigation, which included interviews with several witnesses who placed McCracken elsewhere at the time of the crime and a re-examination of forensic evidence that had helped convict him, resulted in the case's being reopened. McCracken is now out on bail, awaiting a

The Pulitzer judges also cited an Inquirer series called "Disorder in the Court," which exposed an array of abuses in the Philadelphia court system. Three reporters, Daniel R. Biddle, H.G. Bissinger and Fredris N. Tulsky, spent more than two years pursuing the story. Their findings led the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to assume control of the troubled local court system last April. The gold medal for public service went to a series by Pitsburgh Press Reporters Andrew Schneider and Matthew Breits that exposed inadequate FAA screening of airline pilots for drug abuse and other medical problem medical problem.

The Inquirer, which has developed into one of the nation's leading papers under Executive Editor Eugene Roberts, led the field with three awards. (Its third was for a feature story by Steve Twomey about life aboard an aircraft carrier.) The New York Times won two: one for its coverage of the aftermath of the space shuttle Challenger disaster and another for reporting by Alex S. Jones on the breakup of the Bingham family's Louisville newspaper empire. The Los Angeles Times also took two prizes: for Michael Parks' reports from South Africa and Richard Eder's book criticism. Charles Krauthammer, a Washington Post columnist and TIME essayist, won the commentary award for his newspaper columns, and Berke Breathed. creator of the Bloom County comic strip, got the nod for editorial cartooning

After declining to give an award for drama last year, the judges honored August Wilson's Fences, a play about a black family in the 1950. In doings on, however, and the properties of the prope

#### **Milestones**

VERIOT RENDERED. For David Hardy, 44. reporter, and three other black deditorial employees of the New York Dauly Nevez: by a federal jury, which found that the properties of the plaintiffs choice assignments and promotions, and had retailated with applaintiffs complained about their treatment in New York City. After the rancorous nine-week trial, black journalists halled the verdicts as a "landmark case".

DIED. Willi Smith, 39, Coty Award—winning designer known for his unstructured, "street-smart" clothes; of pneumonia complicated by shigellae, organisms he apparently picked up on a visit to India; in New York City.

DIED. Charlotte Curtis, 58, intense, strongwilled New York Times journalist for 25 years who brought deft, deadpan irreverence and a sociologist's objective eye to her reporting of society's idiosyncrasies and excesses and to her editorship of the Op-Ed page (1974-82), a position that made her the first woman to grace the paper's masthead; of cancer; in Columbus.

DIED. Dick. Shawn, 6.3. rubbery-faced comic who shunned one-liners for satirical monologues and who also acted in movies (1968's. The Producers) and theater (A. Funny Thing, Happened on the Ways to the Form); after collapsing ionsige of an apparent heart attack; in La Jolia, Calif, Atting, since he of orien fell in the stage at the end of his show and was carried off to avoid curtain calls.

DIED. René Hardy, 75. French novelist and onetime railway stationmaster who led a successful World War II Resistance group that sabotaged trains but who was shadowed all his life by accusations that he betraved his comrades under interrogation by Gestapo Chief Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyons"; in Melle, France. Hardy was allegedly arrested briefly in June 1943. Two weeks later the Gestapo raided a key Resistance meeting just after Hardy arrived; National Hero Jean Moulin was arrested and died after torture. Hardy fled, taking only a bullet in the arm: arrested again shortly afterward, he escaped from a hospital and took refuge in Algiers. Hardy was acquitted by both civilian and military courts, but Barbie later claimed to have broken him.

DIED. Cecil Harmsworth King, 86. last of Britain's old-style autocratic press lords, whose empire of more than 200 magazines and newspapers, led by the Daily Mirror, was Britain's largest in the 1960s; in Dublin. He was ousted as chairman in 1968, after waging a press campaign against Prime Minister Harold Wilson's faltering Labor government.

# "WINNING COLOR...AND IT CAME OUT OF A SHARP COPIER".





#### Medicine

#### A Hospital Stands Accused

But mystery still surrounds Andy Warhol's death

The scriptwriters of Quincy could not have conceived a more compelling medical drama. The country's most famous pop artist dies in a prestigious big-city hospital after a rather routine gallbladder operation. The state health department investigates and finds the hospital guilty of a range of "deficiencies," in both preparing the patient for surgery and providing follow-up care. The city's chief medical examiner fails to pinpoint the cause of death and refers the case to the district attorney for possible criminal investigation. Meanwhile the hospital cries foul, complaining that the allegations are "uni-formly incorrect." It acknowledges guilt of only minor procedural lapses in supervising nurses, none of which contributed to the artist's death

Such was the hullabaloo last week surrounding the death of Andy Warhol at New York Hospital, an institution almost as well known for its celebrity patients (John F. Kennedy, Bob Hope, the Shah of Iran) as for its skilled surgical staff. The scandal was the second in just four weeks to engulf the medical center. In March the hospital admitted to having provided inadequate care for 18-year-old Libby Zion, the daughter of Sidney Zion, a locally prominent journalist-lawyer. She died March 5, 1984, less than eight hours after being admitted with a high fever and earache. A grand jury charged that hospital

staffers gave her the wrong medication and woefully neglected her care

The hospital, which at first vehemently denied the charges, finally owned up and agreed to pay New York State \$13,000 in fines, review the credentials of its entire medical staff and report to the state on any other deaths occurring within 24 hours of admission. A malpractice suit by Zion's parents is still pending. But in the Warhol case, the hospital pleads innocent. "We have done many terrible things in the past, says Dr. David Thompson. the institution's director. "This is not one of them.

Certain facts in the case are not in dispute. Warhol. 58, underwent surgery at the hospital on Feb. 21. At 4:30 the next morning, his private nurse, Min Cho, made note of his increasing pallor, but it was not until 5:45, when he was "unresponsive" and turning blue, that she sum-



The eminent but embattled institution

moned the hospital's cardiac-arrest team. He was pronounced dead at 6:31 a.m., of an unexplained heart arrhythmia, or abnormal heartheat

According to the state, the hospital did not thoroughly evaluate Warhol before surgery, may have missed a possible

## Cancer: What

not going as well as federal officials have claimed, according to the General Accounting Office. In a report submitted to Congress last week, the agency charged that biases in statistics often cited by the National Cancer Institute as a vardstick of success "artificially inflate the amount of 'true' progress.'

on changes between 1950 and 1982 in the five-year survival rates for victims of twelve types of cancer. Advances in detection and treatment, they conceded had resulted in improvements in these survival rates (measured from the time of diagnosis), except for stomach cancer. Yet they critiallergy to the antibiotics he was given. and may have allowed him to become overhydrated. It also charged that Cho should have sought help sooner and faulted the hospital for not supervising her

New York Hospital officials were indignant because the state released its report without first giving them the oppor-tunity to comment. "This is not the proper way to do business," fumed Thompson. People read the health department's report in the newspapers and think it is gospel. It is, in fact, a poorly investigated, erroneous account of what happened." In a hastily prepared but detailed 35-page reply, the institution defended its pre-surgery evaluation of Warhol and said the artist was neither allergic to the antibiotic nor overhydrated. It did

admit that staff nurses should have visited his room more frequently, and has disciplined the individuals involved.

The hospital has barred Nurse Cho from further work there, though it praised her record of service over the past eleven years. Cho's lawyer, Arthur Blitz, complained last week



goat." Said he: "The hiring of a privateduty nurse does not relieve the hospital of its own responsibilities. Some doctors at the hospital private-

ly admit that cost-cutting efforts, nursing-staff shortages and overworked, overtired interns may be compromising care at their institution. Hospitals around cized the NCI's reliance on the U.S. may be "trimming these rates as proof of gains their staffs too far down, against cancer, noting that says Dr. Dennis O'Leary,

president of the Chicagobased Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals. O'Leary suggests that the ongoing war between the "money people and the clinical people" at hospitals struggling to contain costs may be taking a toll on quality

Whether these factors played a role in Warhol's death remains uncertain. Indeed, despite a continuing investigation by Manhattan's district attorney, chances are no one will ever know precisely why Warhol died. Unexpected arrhythmias sometimes strike after surgery. and medical scientists admit that the cause remains a mystery. -By Claudia Wallis. Reported by Beth Austin/Chicago and Raii Samghabadi/New York

## Progress?

some types of the disease, such as breast and prostate The battle against cancer is cancers, can progress for ten or 15 years before proving fatal. Also, the GAO observed, survival rates reveal nothing about the life expectancy or quality of life of the victims: "Using survival rates alone to reach conclusions about general progress is therefore inappropriate." NCI Director Vincent DeVita Jr. called the report

GAO investigators focused "offensive," stressing that the institute's assessments take into account mortality and incidence rates as well as five-year survival rates. David Korn, dean of the Stanford medical school and chairman of the National Cancer Advisory Board, agreed. He denounced the report as a "shabby polemic.

# HOW TO RUN A FACTORY WITHOUT ANY NECKTIES

LET THE PEOPLE PARTICIPATE IN MANAGING THE BUSINESS

When General Motors worked out its strategy for the Eighties, it was clear that the development of a new method of production would have to proceed along two lines: technology and people.

GM was able to work out the technology for most of the demands of the new method. But we still needed new talents, new skills. So we acquired EDS, and then Hughes Aircraft. These potent new resources are now working closely with GM scientists and engineers in putting technology to work.

But technology alone is not a new method of production. Our goal was to integrate new technology with new social systems in a human partnership that gives people authority over machines and responsibility for their work. And that isn't easy. There were major questions to be answered, questions really never asked before. Could old patterns be broken down? Did the Japanese or the Europeans have the answer in their management systems? Could we unleash the creativity and management skills of people? Was there something uniquely American that could supply the competitive edge?

Today, the answers can be seen. Take the new General Motors assembly plant in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Here we are building our new full-size pickup. There are no people known as supervisors or hourly workers. They are called advisors and associates.

At one time, in every GM plant, the managers wore neckties. Not at Fort Wayne. The 
necktie, long the symbol of the 
distinction between white-collar 
and blue-collar workers, has been 
banished.

Symbols aren't everything, of course, but the symbols of confrontation have been replaced by the symbols of cooperation. Everybody eats together, parks together, and works together,

The people who build vehicles decide a lot of what goes on in the plant. They're involved in choosing the lighting for their areas, because they're the ones who need the light. They help determine how jobs will be done, because they're the ones who do them. They even help decide which tools to use, right down to the grade of sandpaper that's best for a specific job.

The people who work in this new truck plant are learning how the plant runs, what things cost, how customers respond to their work. And they're smart enough to put that knowledge to good use.

Everyone in the plant knows about computers and is learning to use a terminal. Everyone knows how to work with associates in a team. Everyone understands that there is a high level of technology in the plant and is striving to get the most out of it.

The president of the local union in Fort Wayne says that there has been a change in the culture of the plant. People now consider their work a craft. They get involved and like being involved. They want even more involvement.

It took thousands of hours of education and the common sense to find the right mix of people and technology for this new method of production. The result of all of this work and thought and investment is in the products. Our customers will be getting world-class trucks. In fact, we expect the quality of the cut the standard for the world.

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#### **AIDS and Women**

Nonwhites face the biggest risk

ore than 90% of American AIDS vic-tims have been men, most of them white homosexuals. Yet in black and Hispanic neighborhoods, particularly in East Coast inner cities, the epidemic presents a very different picture. There, AIDS is a disease of both males and females: most victims are drug users, but many are either lovers or offspring of addicts. With growing frequency in these communities, the deadly infection is passed through ordinary heterosexual intercourse. This much neglected fact was a principal finding in a study conducted at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta and published in last week's Journal of the American Medical Association

The research, carried out by Epidemiologists Ann Hardy and Mary Guinan, focused on nearly 2,000 reported cases of AIDs in women. Though women account for less than 7% of all U.S. AIDS victims. their cases have a special significance, according to the authors. By studying these cases, researchers can get clues about how rapidly the disease is spreading among heterosexuals and among children, most of whom contract AIDS from infected mothers. More than half the women studied (52%) were infected through intravenous use of drugs. But the second largest group, and the fastest-growing by far, consisted of women infected through sexual intercourse with infected men. Between 1982 and 1986 the proportion of women who contracted AIDS via sex with men rose from 12% of all female AIDS cases to 26%.

No less striking was the study's finding that more than 70% of AIIS cases in women occurred among blacks and His-panics. Indeed, a woman who is black is 13 times as likely as one who is white to fall victim, and 90% of infants born with AIIS are black or Hispanic. These statistics primarily reflect the larger number of intravenous drug users among these companies of the suburdess of how to prevent the state of the suburdess of how to prevent the suburdess of how the suburdess of how to prevent the suburdess of how the suburdess of

In an editorial accompanying the study, Dr. Constance Wofsy of the University of California, San Francisco, warns that "all sexually active women" face potential risk of AIDS but criticizes the media for supporting the "misimpression that AIDS in heterosexuals is a white disease." Wofsy calls for greater efforts to bring AIDS education to the poor and to drug users in particular, but acknowledges the difficulty of getting the message across: "The potential future danger of AIDS is less compelling [to them] than the day-to-day problems of poverty and drug use." For these people, she and other public-health officials advocate less moralizing about the benefits of abstinence and more practical education about the importance of clean needles and the use of condoms to protect against infection.



Nieves in the ninth inning on his way to becoming the only Brewer ever to pitch a no-hitter

#### Sport

#### **Ten Wins and Therefore No Ties**

Milwaukee blows a bugle call on a Trebelhorn

Baseball got off to a slow start, clouded with coke and racism. But within a week the sky cleared and everyone simular started over, the thing baseball does best of all. Bo Jackson of Kansas City and Eric Davis of Cincinnati began applying for Willie Mays' and Roberto Clemente's old Jobs. That odd-shaped Minnesotan Kirby Puckett resumed clubbing homers the unitely way he did last year. With his Ted Williams stroke, the Mets' Darryl Strawberry worked at dissociating himself from

and Tall the glad developments, though the happiest were in Milwaudees, where a couple of strangers named Tom Trebel-horn and Juan Nieves momentarily turned the American League East upside down (restoring Cleveland to the bottom). On a drizzling night in Baltimore, Nieves on-hit the Orioles last week for the Brewers' ninth victory in a season begun perfectly "Games like this can make a grown man cry," said Trebelhorn, 39, the most anonymous skipper in the major leagues.

As a minor-league catcher, coach and manager, Trebelhorn somehow withstood a thousand bus rides from Boise to Walla Walla without becoming very tobacco splattered. He is a substitute math teacher in the off-season and is as reasonable as he is unrecognizable. When Rookie Catcher B.J. Surhoff was called out for straying from the base path. Trebelhorn raced to the umpire, saying, "Look, you know the rule and I know the rule. But the players don't know the rule and the fans don't know the rule. So we have to stand here and argue awhile, O.K.?" "Treb" came up from the minors last spring, when a clubhouse heater explosion burned third-base Coach Tony Muser. Manager George Bamberger stepped down with nine

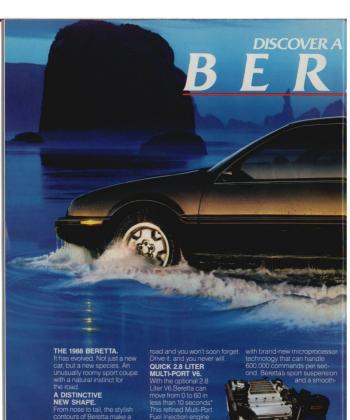
games to go last September, and General Manager Harry Dalton had only to see Trebelhorn fill in for four of them before removing "interim" from his title. Just Jim Gantner, Paul Molitor, Cecil

Cooper and Robin Yount remain from the glory year, 1982. Now the designated hitter, Cooper has yielded first base to ex-Dodger Greg Brock, no longer required to be Steve Garvey. Yount has lost the arm for shortstop but was center fielder enough to preserve the no-hitter with a diving catch for the final out. He was quick to say, "Paciorek's catch in the second inning meant just as much." Left Fielder Jim Paciorek, subbing for the young home-run champion Rob Deer, said not to forget the infield. And Nieves thanked the team. The season may only be dawning, but this is a winner's refrain. When everyone tackled me after-

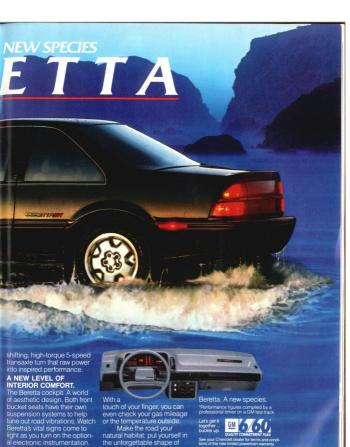
ward," said Nieves, 22. "I though, "What's going on," If it is hard to believe him when he says that winning the game occupied him nore than pitching the nohitter, consider the eight straight desihitter, consider the eight straight desifelt so pumped up. I was trying to throw the ball through the catcher and the backstop. "The left-handed sophomore short Santurce, Puerto Rico, is the youngest major leaguer in 15 years to pitch a nohitter to second Latin after Juan Mari-Trebellborn is not an infectible head-"Trebellborn is not an infectible head-

master. His normal rules include neckties or team flights, the announcement of which brought a gasp. O.K., he said, "start the year with ten wins in a row, and we'll all lose the ties." When the tenth victory came against Texas, the Brewers unbuttoned their collars and sighed dreamily, "Just 152 to go." — By Tom Catkhavi.

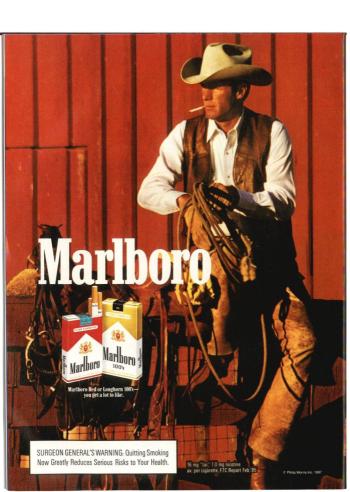




hood. Flush, pillar-mounted door handles. Lots of glass. Aggressive stance. And a



THE feartheat OF AMERICA TODAY'S CHEVROLET



#### Law

#### Sentences by the Book

More rational court penalties, but more prisoners too

The most fateful exercise of judicial discretion is the one that starts with the words "I sentence you ... Whether to slap the wrist or slam the cell door is a complex and partly subjective decision in which the particulars of the crime, the history of the culprit and the disposition of the judge all play a part. No wonder, then, that a stickup may draw anything from hard time to probation and defense lawyers maneuver to get their cases heard by judges known to go easy.

For years such disparities have troubled both liberals concerned about equal justice and conservatives

form, and more certain, Congress in 1984 authorized a commission to devise new sentencing formulas for use in federal courts, where some 40,000 criminal sentences are handed down annually. After 18 months of hearings and study, the U.S. Sentencing Commission last week issued its guidelines. Their tangle of numerical tables may rationalize court penalties, but they are expected to add thousands of inmates to already overflowing prisons

The nine-member commission created a system in which each crime is assigned a "base" number. That figure is then adjusted, depending on such variables as the use of a gun or how much money was stolen or whether the victim was elderly. The resulting number is plugged into a chart that weighs any previous record and comes out with a prescription for the sentence. For example, a bank robber starts by getting 19 penalty points, gets 1 added for taking \$15,000 and 9 more for shooting someone and causing serious injury. If the robber served a 14month prison term five years earlier, the total of 29 points would direct the judge to set a new sentence-whir, clickbetween 97 and 121 months.

The guidelines represent a compromise between complete judicial discretion and fixed sentences, a now disfavored reform in which specific crimes get unvarying punishments without parole. Under



Three's already a crowd in an Atlanta federal prison cell intended for two

fuming over lenient sen-tences. To make punishment more uni- | the new federal proposal, judges would | retain a small range of discretion and could depart from the guidelines in certain instances. If they did so, however, they would have to give their reason on the record, and those sentences could be appealed.

Even so, the "departure" provisions are too broad for the sole dissenting commission member, Rutgers Law Professor Paul Robinson, who charges that the report is riddled with loopholes. "If Congress asked for Rambo," he says, "what it got

was Don Knotts." Counters Commission Member Stephen Breyer, a federal appeals judge: "Departures shouldn't occur that often." When they do, he adds, the reasons that judges give "will be analyzed, and the

guidelines will be refined. The new system is scheduled to go into effect in November, but the commission, which is a permanent body, has recommended that Congress delay implementation until August 1988 in order to let judges try out the guidelines on a voluntary basis.

Any polishing that results, however, is not likely to ease the worrisome impact of the changes on federal prisons, already at 153% of capacity. The guidelines permit probation in fewer circumstances, mostly for the first-time offender who has committed a nonviolent crime. They also abolish the parole system for federal prisoners, as Congress has mandated.

so that a five-year term will mean just that, minus no more than 54 days a year for good behavior. The commission estimates its tougher penalties will cause the federal prison population to grow by an extra 10% over the next decade. That could have an unimaginable effect on a federal prison like the one at Terminal Island in California, which has 1,039 inmates caged in a facility designed to hold 601. "We couldn't go through a 10% increase here." says John Vanyur, executive assistant to the

warden. The prospect of mechanically consulting their punishment tables like an abacus leaves most judges dismayed. "I know of nobody who's keen to enforce this approach," says U.S. District Court Judge Laughlin Waters of Los Angeles. "Most judges don't want sentencing guidelines, period, admits Chairman William Wilkins of South Carolina, a federal appeals judge. But, he adds, "we all recognize we need a system where there is certainty and fairness. Without guidelines that is impossi-The absence of outright enthusiasm from any quarter for the commission's approach may be inevitable. As Stanford Criminal Law Professor John Kaplan says, "I think it will prove unsatisfactory. In this area nothing is satisfactory." - By Richard Lacayo. Reported by Anne Constable/Wash-

ington and Michael Riley/Los Angeles

#### **Not Guilty Bv Necessity**

"Everyone on the jury was over 30," a beaming Amy Carter, 19, told cheering supporters after she and 14 co-defendants, including over-30 Activist Abbie Hoffman. were acquitted last week of trespassing and disorderly conduct charges. Their

stemmed from a November protest against CIA recruiting at the Massachusetts in Amherst Carter and her colleagues were allowed by the judge to invoke a Activist Carter

seven-day trial

centuries-old, common-law "necessity defense." An offense may be considered justifiable if it is directed against a "clear and imminent danger" that is of greater harm to the community, in this case alleged CIA lawbreaking in Central America. To bolster the cause, Defense Attorney Leonard Weinglass, one of Hoffman's lawyers in the 1969 Chicago Seven trial, got testimony from former

> Ramsey Clark and onetime Contra Leader Edgar Chamorro. people are doing perhaps what most of us should be doing," Juror Anne Gaffney, 64, said afterward

Attorney General



#### Music

COVER STORY

# Band on The Run

U2 soars with a top album, a hot tour and songs of spirit and conscience

e remembers it this way. Outside San Salvador, 30 or 40 miles up in the hills, mortars began to hit the village, and bombs cratered the hillside. Run.

That was his first thought. And this was the second: Where? It was open all around. The ground shook. The farmers looked at the traveler from Ireland and smiled and pointed. They tried to be reassuring. "That is over there," they said. "We are over here."

"I felt," says the traveler, thinking back in a safer place, "such a fool in the face of it. Those guys lived with it all their lives, and it meant nothing to them. But the fear I felt that day ..." Just talking couldn't say it all. It would take a sone.

When Bono tears loose on U2's Bullet the Blue Sky, you can still hear the ache of fear in his voice, the closeness of the memory. The song is immediate and passionate, a cry of conscience on an album full of oblique social speculation and spiritual voyaging. The Joshua Tree is not, it would seem at first, a record for these times. Bono and the rest of the Irish band called U2 seem to be citizens of some alternative time frame spliced from the idealism of the '60s and the musical free-for-all of the late '70s. Their songs have the phantom soul of the Band, the Celtic wonderment of their compatriot Van Morrison and some of the assertiveness of punk, refined into lyrical morality plays

Their concerts are as revivifying as anything in rock, with a strong undertow of something not often found this side of Brance Springsterm moral passion. U2's Brance Springsterm moral passion. U2's Democratic Proceedings of the Control of the Con

nesty International. This is not, then, just a band for partying down. "Partying is a band for partying is a disguise, isn't it?" Bono asks, and does not wait for an answer. This is a band that believes rock music has moral imperatives and social responsibilities. There is no one better than U2 at bringing "over there" back "over here," and setting it down right by the front door, where no one can miss it.

U2's sixth and best album, The Joshua Tree, in stores for little more than a month. hit No. 1 on Billboard's chart this week. The album's first single, With or Without You, has made the band's heaviest mark on Top 40 radio and is already in the Top Ten. Other tunes on The Joshua Tree (the title was inspired by a California desert town where '70s Rocker Gram Parsons died) are likely to keep it company. U2 launched a scheduled 18-month world tour in Arizona just three weeks ago, will play the U.S. through mid-May, perform in Europe most of the summer, then return to the States in September. "I guarantee you that when U2 comes back this record will be bigger than ever," says Andy Denemark, a director of programming at NBC Radio. "There's a lot of depth to this album."

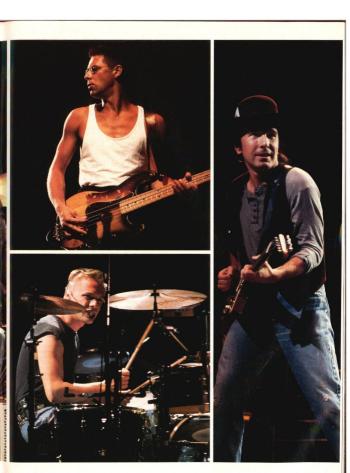
He means depth of the commercial, not thematic variety, but he is right in either case. "People are always saying U2 is the largest underground act in the world,' says their manager, Paul McGuinness. "I suppose that's true, but it is starting to change." And in a hurry, at that. Ask Thom House, who sold U2 concert tickets for local gigs via computer at his two video stores in New York and New Jersey. Crowds started lining up at his Manhattan store Thursday night, and at first, he says,"I had no idea why they were there. I chased them away, saying we were not selling tickets until Saturday. They kept coming back. We bought movie tickets

U2 takes off into full flight: clockwise from left, Bono, Adam Clayton, the Edge, Larry Mullen Jr.

Photographs for TIME by Neal Preston-Camera 5



TIME, APRIL 27, 1987



#### **BONO:**

"Writing songs for me is as easy as walking down the street. Writing good songs is not."



#### THE EDGE:

"We're pretty much selftaught. We still don't read music. We communicate in our own language."



and passed them out, so they could leave and come back. They stayed. It started raining. They stayed, hundreds of them. This group must rank close to the Beatles."

Just a second. The sound you hear is brakes being put on, and it is the band that has the heaviest foot on the pedal. "We don't think were that good, really," asys Bono. 26, who writes the lyrics and resident shamm. "We think we are overrated, and though we're concerned about living up to people's expectations, it scares us even to live up to our own expectations." "The band is at a frontier," Bass Guitarist Adam Clayton, 27, "You Stares used to the control of the control of sidefittield by finishering."

It is also taking on distinct phenomenological proportions. Even in Arizona, in the earliest stages, with Bono's voice raggedy from overrehearsing and with the band searching for a solid connection with both the audience and one another, there was a final fusion of performer and spectator that is one mark of great rock 'n' roll. Some of the songs, especially earlier efforts, can get tongue-tied by the unwieldy ambition of their lyrics and the discursiveness of the melody line. The audience shares a devotional intensity, however, that anchors the concert as a whole experience even when the tunes range free. Bono stalks a song as much as sings it, and the moment he takes the stage there is no doubt what his terms are: unconditional surrender. Clayton and Drummer Larry Mullen Jr., 25, have found some solid musical grounding, and the lead guitarist, the Edge, 25, can work a riff around to an epiphany.

(Of course you will want to know about those snappy nicknames before anything else. Bono, born Paul Hewsen got his off a sign advertising Bono Vox of O Connell Street, a hearing-sid store in the phrase meant "good voice" in cock-eyed Latin, but he had long since dropped the Vox. Bono—say it Borno—to, to sound like the German city and not like the name of Cher's ex-husband—came up with the name for David Evans. "The name of the "se ex-husband—came up with the name for David Evans." The name of the "se ex-husband—name up with the name for David Evans. "The name of the "se ex-husband name to particularly edgy person." the Edge elaborates, "so it is funny. "Now, then my." Now, then my." Now, then my." Now then my." I want to the properties, "so it is funny. "Now, then my." Now then my." I want to the properties, "so it is funny." Now, then my." Now, then my." Now then my." I want to the properties of th

t is on Bono, however, that all eyes stay fixed. U2 carries the day, but he carries the show. That has always been the way, ever since the hand's been the way, ever since the hand's been the way. The shows the hand that had been the shown that had been the shown that had been the shown the shown that had been the shown the shown that had been the shown that he was the shown that had been the shown that he was the shown that had been that he was the shown that had been the shown that he was the shown that had been the shown that he was that he was the shown that he was the shown that he was that he was that he was the shown that he was that he was the shown that he was the shown that he was the shown that he was that he was

Once met, those eyes are well remembered. They lock in for good as he travels the stage in a perpetual panther prowl. His presence is not specifically sexual, but it is intensely sensual and lends heft to the yorkal excursions. It also give the spiritusality and frequent Christian symbolism of the songs ("See the thorn twist in your side"; "I stand with the sons of Cain") as welcome grounding in earthly delights. "Their show is the best around," remarks an apprexistive T Bone Burnett, a guitar part of the properties of the properties of part of the properties of the properties of part of the properties of the properties of what church should be "Lest such praise become a little burdensome, Larry Mullen keeps this reflection handy." At the

end of the day, it's just rock 'n' roll.' For audiences, though, that music can be a lifeline. A Springsteen song can tap right into your daily existence. A U2 tune like Running to Stand Still, with a trancelike melody that slips over the transom of consciousness, insinuates itself into your dreams. Patty Klipper, from Parsippany, N.J., says, "First they opened my mind to their music. Then their music opened my mind to the world." The band's official fan magazine, called Propaganda and edited by their tour lighting director, is a neatly turned out publication that features the usual inside-band stuff as well as some unexpected calls to political action. Fan publications usually urge readers to stay in touch with the musicians. Propaganda urges them to write letters on behalf of Amnesty International: "Please write to the federal authorities in Yugoslavia, asking for the immediate and unconditional release of Dr. Nikola Novakovic and all other Prisoners of Con-

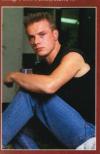
#### ADAM:

"Our commitment was to a better way. We could have our own gang and not put up with the rest of the world."



#### LARRY:

"We don't take ourselves too seriously. Our friendship is an odd thing, a peculiar thing. I don't understand it."



science. Write to: President of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina ... Begin your letter 'Your Excellency...'"

His Excellency is not likely to invite the band to fall by for plum brandy and cabbage rolls, and U2 is probably not at the top of the White House invitation list, either. They are dead serious about their liberal activist politics although careful not to be sanctimonious. Clayton talks worriedly about some fans turning to the band "needing to be healed," and Bono says,"I would hate to think everybody was into U2 for 'deep' and 'meaningful' reasons. We're a noisy rock-'n'-roll band. If we all got onstage, and instead of going 'Yeow!' the audience all went 'Ummmm' or started saying the rosary, it would be awful." The band shares a kind of ecumenical, nonspecific spirituality. Bono, the Edge and Mullen are Christians, although of a particularly loose-limbed variety.

The Edge." I suppose I am a Christian. but I am not a religious person. "Bono." I feel unworthy of the name. It is a pretty high compliment. But I feel at home in the back of a Catholic cathedral, in a revival Mullen." I am a Christian and not ashamed of that. But trying to explain my beliefs, our beliefs, takes away from it. I have more in common with somebody who doesn't believe at all than I do with most

Christians. I don't mind saying that."

Clayton, who alone has not announced formally for Christianity, says simply that for journalists "religion was

an easy angle, a hook to hang a story on. We all believe in much the same things but don't express ourselves in the same way." This, along with Clayton's inborn rebellious instincts and up-tempo temperament, caused some intramural tension that has only lately been resolved. "I was in the wilderness for a few years, so there was a natural antagonism within the band that people picked up on. Now the spirituality contained within the band is equal to all the members." Clayton, tan and muscular, with an army recruit's haircut and a pair of steel-rimmed spectacles that makes him look like an insurrectionist with a bass instead of a bomb, remains U2's most sulfurous presence. lending a slight but leveling tension to the stage show. Still, the band's fervor comes from deep springs, not simply from sheer showmanship, "Great songs and all that great heart," says Lou Reed, a formidable musician whose influence can be heard on Running to Stand Still. "U2's not a pop group. They are in this for real.

or high stakes too. The band's commitment, to its audience and its music; sanctions and encourages the kind of social concern that in the Reagan '80s became unfashionable, even antique. The album that The Joshua Tree displaced from the top of the chart is a revisionist rap record by the Beastie Boys. social postures that attitude but assuming social postures that teter between preening smugness and snide irresponsibility. After arriving in Arizona, U2 discovered that Governor Evan Mecham had canceled the state's observance of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. U2 considered canceling the concerts but did something better: made a contribution to the Mecham Watchdog Committee and played Pride (In the Name of Love)-a tribute to King-with a joyful vengeance. But it is not just that U2 is on the side of the angels. It has given a new charter and a fresh voice to conscience. "A sense of hu-mor is something I value," Bono says, "but we don't play rock 'n' roll with a wink." Without sermonizing, they have become a rallying point for a new and youthful idealism. After Live Aid and Farm Aid and after the Amnesty tour, after heated and heartfelt music from Jackson Browne and Little Steven, it is no longer corny or uncool to be concerned, to get involved. And especially after the breakaway success of U2. it seems that audiences are ready to take heart and to reach out. There are, as Bono sings in the opening of In God's Country, "new dreams tonight."

"Nobody knows how it works," "Adam Clayton says, "You turn the music up as loud as you can and hope people like it." Mullen admits, "I'd obelieve our music is special. But you have to separate the music from the people. The music is special, but I don't think we are. We are ordinary people." They are earnestly going about They or "demy thologier" themselves, as They or "demy thologier" themselves, as down to manageable size, the better to down to manageable size, the better to

handle their superstar stature. It is a posture that is both defensive and pragmatic, disarming and perhaps just a shade desperate. "People respond to our naiveté," Clayton insists. "I think they see four guy from Ireland who don't want to let go of their dreams."

It was Larry Mullen who set the dream in motion. He posted a note on the bulletin board of Mount Temple, a public high school in Dublin, asking if there was anyone interested in forming a rock band. That was in 1976, and he was 14. "Stories simplify how big a step that was at the

time," says Clayton. "That one action of Larry's has affected the rest of his life and, indeed, everyone's." David Evans (yet to be called the Edge) was a top student in his Mount Temple class, but he had been spending spare time "strumming away on acoustic and electric guitar When he saw that notice, he felt a decidedly nonacademic stirring in his soul. "Ah." he thought, "this could be it." Mullen had been playing drums since the age of nine, charging money for household chores ("I should have done them anyway. I know") in hopes of getting his own kit. His parents finally gave him part of a set-made by a toy manufacturer and retailing for \$15-at which young Larry happily flailed away until his father, an environmental-health inspector and part-time optician, suggested he try to get a group together. "You are not going to get anywhere," the senior Mullen pointed out, "if you continue playing on your own.' The Saturday after the

school notice went up, six or seven Mount Temple students appeared in the Mullen kitchen

and started playing Rolling Stones tunes. "During the course of the afternoon." Mullen remembers, "I saw that some people could play. The Edge could play. Adam just looked great. Big bushy hair, long caftan coat, bass guitar and amp. He talked like he could play, used all the right words. like gig. I thought, this guy must know how to play. Then Bono arrived, and he meant to play the guitar, but he couldn't play very well, so he started to sing. He couldn't do that either. But he was such a charismatic character that he was in the band anyway, as soon as he arrived. I was in charge for the first five minutes, but as soon as Bono got there, I was out of a job.

The boys who became U2—the name, suggested by a local musician pal, refers ironically to the high-altitude spy plane—all knew of one another, vaguely, from school. The Clayton and Evans families were friendly. The Edge, whose family is Welsh, and Bono (still generally called Paul Hesson back then) had brief-called Paul Hesson back then) had brief-part. Bono had a distant but still vivid imports, boro had a distant but still vivid mryession of Clayton, who was raised out-

side Lordon and in Kenya, and had moved to Dublin with his mother and affine and the control of the control of



On the tour's first leg, Bono and the Edge try on some local footwear

A certain spirituality and a strong grounding in earthly delights.

Clayton's other prop was his bass, a gift from his parents ("Tll play till I'm bigger than the Beatles!" he promised them). which he handled with similar élan. It hecame clear after a little time, however, that there were certain limitations to style. The Claytons were dubious when the band started to talk about turning pro. "Quite sensibly," the Edge remembers, "they realized this business is very hard and that Adam is not the world's most gifted musician and what possible chance has he got of making it. My folks probably made the same calculation." "Adam's amazing." says Bono flatly. "He just pretended he could play the bass, when in fact he couldn't. And at the age of 16, he pretended he knew the music business inside and out." He, of all the four, saw the band as his

He had to. Bono was dubious at first about joining up ("I thought rock was ugly"), and the Edge at these early stages "didn't ever consider the band as anything other than a worthwhile thing to do on Wednesday afternoons." Mullen, the youngest of the group, could only dream

of a career, while Bono and the Edge were getting on with their education and taking their final exams. Clayton, however, had been booted out of Mount Temple, and worried about "commitment" from the others. He hustled hard, trying to force their hand, and made contact with McGuinness.

The band, which had gone through a variety of names, including the Hype, was better with chutzpah than with chords. "You see," says Mullen, "we couldn't play. We were very, very, very bad." In the first hot flush of punk, this did not

greatly matter, and after seeing them in 1978, McGuinness, who had done mostly film-production work up until that moment, agreed to become their manager. "It looked to me like they would be a great rock band," he says now, adding, "Tve only had to be right once."

McGuinness farmed himself out for the occasional production job and began to ' off my wife." The boys, still living at home, would occasionally be driven to dates by a stray mom or dad. This sort of early scuffling can break a band or bond it, and with U2 it seems to have brought the group closer. After a bit. "The first couple of years," says Clayton, "we kind of hated each other. It was very competitive, and everyone was trying to come out on top." As the band gigged around, scrambling to get heard by record companies and earn a little living money, there were thirdparty suggestions that one member or another be dropped in the interest of strengthening the band's musicianship. All such notions were rejected out

of hand. "We never, ever felt that being a great musician was a necessary qualification for being in U2," says McGuinness. "The individuals were much more important than whether you could play."

There were other ties, ones that stayed strong beneath the surface tension. Grief could be shared, understood. When was 15, Boro's mother ded from the was 15, Boro's mother ded from the grandfather's funeral. Mullen lost his mother in a traffic accident in 1978. "The thing that has kept us going." he says now, "st he fact that we are friends. This whole band is based on our friendship. If it had would have failed."

After some patchy times and a couple near misses with record companies, McGuinness struck a deal with Island in 1980 that allowed an unusual amount of creative independence ("They had to accept the record without any question"), and the band released its first album. Boy. That same year, it paid its first visit to America, opening in Boston for a band of what Bono calls "some local renown, We what Bono calls" some local renown.

started to play, and all the people started standing up, turning over the tables. The place was packed. Steam was dripping off the ceilings, and they wouldn't let us leave the stage. We had one, two, three encores. I just looked at Edge and said, 'Hey, wow, if this is America, I want some more! This is it!" When the star attractions finally made it to the stage, the club was empty.

It would take U2 a couple more years and two more albums before it could compound that Boston frenzy worldwide and come up with the first song that could stand as its anthem. That was Sunday Bloody Sunday from 1983's War, a tune about the divisive heat and blind violence of modern Ireland that curried no favor on either side. War was U2's best work until The Joshua Tree; the year after its release, Island, detecting seismic vibrations, renegotiated the band's contract with McGuinness. "Now U2's in an absolutely unique position," he reports. "They own outright every song they ever wrote, and they always will."

he contract also made them flush. and that of course has further quickened the collective conscience. Bono has been flabbergasted to read that he and his wife Alison. another Mount Temple grad, live in a seaside castle near Dublin. "It's a little round tower," he laughs, "Three levels, three rooms." Domesticity presents its own problems. Although he, like the rest of the band, cherishes a bit of personal distance and privacy, Bono acknowledges, "My life is just a mess. When I am away, I'm not at home. When I'm home, I'm not at home. I come in when she is going out." Ali, who is studying politics at Dublin's University College, "is the dark eye," the words of her admiring husband. "She will not be worn like a brooch. We have a stormy relationship because she is her own woman." While in Arizona, worried that she sounded a little depressed on the transatlantic phone, Bono asked his inlaws to "keep an eye on her. They must have rung her right away, because I got this phone call saying, 'I don't need a baby-sitter!' and she slammed down the phone." Ali made an unscheduled anpearance in Arizona 48 hours later and stayed five days.

Mullen, who added Junior to his surname after his father began to receive large tax bills meant for his prosperous son, lives on a beach near Dublin. His girlfriend does office-temp work, so she is free to join the tour at frequent intervals. "I live in a nice house and don't feel bad about it, he says. "But I don't drive a flashy car, first of all because I don't want to, and second of all because I think that would be rude in a country like Ireland, where there is high unemployment." Clayton lives in Dublin ("an incestuous place"), though his dreams of taking off for "another climate. a beach somewhere" are tempered by the sure knowledge that "I'd always return." With his wife Aislinn, who works for a boutique, and their daughters, the Edge also lives in Dublin, although he frets, "My

life revolves around the music, the kevboard. My family should make a difference, but I am not able to spend enough time with them

Politics and the past make perpetual demands, of course. The band underwrites Mother Records, an outfit that gives young bands their first shot, "We're trying to provide an opportunity for Irish groups." McGuinness says. "You don't have to be Irish, but it helps. We do have one Scottish group." Besides the trip to El Salvador last year, Bono and Ali found time for seven weeks of relief work in Ethiopia, and Mullen tries to stay tapped in to the roots: "All the neighbors knew my mother, and I try to drop in on them occasionally, just to keep my foot in." Celebrity, however, does have its inconveniences. "When you go into a shop, and

Bono has been reading Walker Percy, Flannery O'Connor and Raymond Carver and has promised to write new songs during this tour. He has already begun one, based on a recent video shoot at a grungy Los Angeles location and a chance encounter with a gay Viet Nam vet. "I spotted empty bottles all over the roof with the label Wild Irish Rose wine," he says. "So I started this song. It is about suicide. The opening line is 'This city of angels has brought a devil out in me.'" (Well, the band has been listening to a good deal of country music.) He yearns to write a song that, as Manager McGuinness puts it, "could go into the language.

It may have already been done. I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For, the second cut on The Joshua Tree.



They might be giants: the boys at their Dublin dawning, circa 1978 "Four guys from Ireland who don't want to let go of their dreams

come out of Ireland since whenever, every father and uncle and grandmother knows who you are. It is embarrassing when you want to go buy some socks."

There are further signs of changes and counterbalances as well. Although Bono has received lyric credit on the last two albums, the songwriting has traditionally involved the whole band, "chipping away," as Mullen puts it, "chipping away and doing it until it feels right. It takes an awful long time and is incredibly frustrating." Sometimes the system works well-Pride (In the Name of Love) was written at a sound check in a total of seven minutes-but the Edge is mulling over further streamlining, "I think in the future Bono and I will work together more closely," he says. "It seems to be a quicker way. When you've got everybody there, it can be very fun, but slow." However this may affect the rest of the band, they are all agreed on one point. "The Joshua Tree is the best record we've made to date. Bono declares, "but it will not be our best record by a long shot."

you're in the only successful band to have | has one of those seemingly casual melodies that, a little like a high-flying version of the Police's Every Breath You Take, is heard once and slips directly into the collective memory. It manages to work much of what the band believes in, yearns for and has gone through, in the past and in prospect, into a single simple, elegant reflection:

> I believe in the Kingdom Come Then all the colors will bleed into

one But yes I'm still running You broke the bonds You loosed the chains You carried the cross And my shame. You know I believe it But I still haven't found What I'm looking for . . . \*

Let them run on, then. They are not likely to get caught. And they already know the way home. -By Jay Cocks. Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/ Phoenix

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#### Living

#### Hands Up and Butts Out!

Beverly Hills outlaws smoking in restaurants



"It's like the Old West. Whoever draws his gun first wins. Someone lights a cigarette, and another person says. You can't smoke here.' Then the first says, 'I dare you to do something about it. And there goes the peace and transullity of an evening meal.'

—Joe Patti, owner of La Famiglia

On April 3 a new era began in Beverly Hills: smoking was banned in restaurants and retail stores. Three weeks later many cigarettes remain unlit but scorched tempers are flaring. In cafés and restaurants throughout this clean, orderly city, known for its per capita wealth and celebrity residents, vociferous smokers are shrieking that the new ordinance is fascist. Communist and tyrannical. "It's the People's Republic of Beverly Hills," fumes Irene Robbins, a bookkeeper for the Mandarin, a Chinese restaurant one block from Rodeo Drive. "The smog is ten times worse than anything you're going to breathe sitting through dinner with a smoker," insists Ronnie Fondell, puffing away at an outdoor table at Caffe Roma, a lively bistro where sleek Europeans come to meet and gawk. "Why not take cars off the street, booze off the bar and prohibit anything else anyone ever said was bad for you," grumbles a patron at the Grill, popular with the business-lunch crowd More rebellious customers have taken

action. At Larry Parker's pricey 24-Hour Diner one recent afternoon, an annoyed patron yanked a woman's hair as he walked out because she refused to put out her cigarrette. At Cafe Beverly Hills, an upscale coffee shop, an elderly man punched his female companion when she told him he must snuff his cigar. "I've been smoking for 92 years," said the patron. "No one is going to tell me where I can smoke."

But such celebrity diners as Actor Carroll O'Connor, owner and occasional piano

player at the Ginger Man, and cigar-puffing George Burns are willing to conform. "Ill do whatever the city wants," says O'Connor stoically. Debbie Parker, a ban supporter who has a water pistol emblazoned with the words \$TOP OR I'LL SHOOT, says, "Smokers have had a lack of consideeration for others for a long time. Now the tables are turned." The

Beverly Hills police famed for their vigilance in cracking down on jaywalking, illegal parking and attempted burglary—are so far going slowly. They have made on arrests and answered only two calls; one was a smoking complaint, and the other involved a nicotine lover who went berserk about the ordinance.

The Beverly Hills ban is part of a pulmonary consciousness sweeping the land, fueled by Surgeon General C. Everett Koop's report that secondhand, or "sidestream," smoke can have a negative effect on the health of nonsmokers. Two years ago Aspen. Colo., passed the first law to prohibit smoking in most dining rooms. On May 7 New York State will join the trend, restricting smokers in restaurants with 51 \$500. Mayor Charlotte Spadaro, whose mail is running 2 to 1 in favor of the ban, views it as similar to laws "against pollution and toxic waste, designed to make the environment safe for everyone."

Because the law is directed at residents, not visitors, hotel dining rooms are exempt: restaurant bars and cocktail

or more seats to designated areas. The Beverly Hills ordinance, passed unanimously

by the city council, penalizes disobedient smokers—and restaurants that fail to dis-

play no-smoking signs-with fines of up to

Because the law is directed at residents, not visitors, hotel dining rooms are exempt; restaurant bars and cocktail lounges are also excluded from the ban. "We understand the relationship between alcohol and cigarettes-we're not out to reform human nature," explains former City Attorney Steven Rood. As for hotels. he notes, "French and Italian movie moguls can't do business without a cigarette in their mouth." Such reasoning does not satisfy restaurant owners. Vito Sasso, proprietor of the romantic Romeo and Juliet, argues that he too has foreign customers. citing one wealthy visitor who orders several \$500 bottles of wine for a dinner tab of \$4,000-which adds up to a month's rent. "He won't come in anymore because he can't smoke," moans Sasso. "That's like doubling my rent.

A local restaurant survey found that since the ban there has been a 30% drop in business. On the first night of the ban, 36 people called Romeo and Juliet to cancel their reservations. Mr. Chow, a chic Chinese eatery, registered a 17% initial decline and 65% two nights later. At the Beverly Hills Hamburger Hambut, revenues were slashed by \$3,000, while businesses in the chain's resement the state of the s

taurant in nearby West Hollywood was up by the same amount. "The best restaurants are on our borders," says Joanne Le Bouvier, owner of the Saloon, which experienced a 45% setback. "You can just walk from here to another city. What chance do we have?

Despite a pending lawsuit by the Beverly Hills Restaurant Association, it is unlikely the law will be repealed. "Posterity may find that this ban was well ahead of its time," says Patrick Reynolds, an antismoking activist and Beverly Hills resident who saw his father die of emphysema. He is the grandson of R.J. Reynolds, founder of the

famed tobacco company.

—By Martha Smilgis.

Reported by Nancy Seufert/
Beverly Hills

#### Bagged in Boston

The manufacturer would have you imagine Cabbage Patch Kids grown up and gone to seed, but when Sher-Stuff's Bag Lady dolls showed up in Boston, some of that city's hundreds of homeless women were not amused. "The ultimate in vulgarity and poor taste," agreed the Globe Last week the National Union of the Homeless picketed the company's Los Angeles factory and demanded that the down-andout dolls be recalled. Sher-Stuff, recognizing the value of free publicity, respectfully declined. The dolls, which sell for \$45 and up, mean no offense to the homeless, said Designer Ryan Gourley, 33. "I live in Laguna Beach. Half my friends look like that.'

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### Cinema

### Art, War, Death and Sex

Big issues in four "small" independent films

#### HOLLYWOOD SHUFFLE

"There ain't nothin 'to it but to do it."
Armed with this bromide, an easy wit and \$100,000, Robert Townsend made a movie. Suddenly the actor 'ta Sodder's Story)
was his own producer, director and coauthor. The film might be his own life too.
Bobby Taylor (Townsend) works days at a hot-dog stand while enduring auditions with casting directors who want every backers of the security of the sec



Hot dog!: Townsend, center, in Shuffle

to chuck it all for a little self-R-E-S-P-E-C-T. Bobby ends up happyish, doing public-service TV spots. Robert, though, earned a happier ending than his film dared hope: Hollywood Shuffle is a surprise hit.

The picture's comedy sketches tend to take a good idea and limp with it. The visual style will not send Steven Spielberg back to film school. But Townsend engages the viewer with a lot of cute fantasy-parodies. In a TV review show, Sneakin' in the Movies, the streetwise critics give thumbs up only to a sci-fi thriller called Attack of the Street Pimps. A TV commercial for the Black Acting School shows its (white) teachers providing the finer points of jive talking and stud strutting. Bobby stars in a Stallone-style epic, Rambro: First Young Blood, and wins the Best Actor Oscar over Robert Redford and Meryl Streep. Townsend knows Bobby fully lives where we all live, in dreams of glory, agony, love-of life's infinite possibilities. In real life, most of those dreams are dashed or deferred. So who wouldn't be pleased enough to pay the price of a movie ticket to see Townsend's come true? -By Richard Corliss

### SWIMMING TO CAMBODIA It is wonderful to encounter movie people

when they have just come off a tough location shoot, especially if they are as bright and observant as Spalding Gray, who had a small part in The Killing Fields when it was shot in Thailand in 1983. As one of those functionaries who mainly sit around waiting for the screw-ups to be corrected, Gray used his time to work up a funny monologue in which his experiences, giddily exaggerated, commented on the folly and wastefulness of human enterprise. Further, Gray had the wit not to waste his routine in living rooms. He staged his chat-iust the speaker seated at his desk. a map behind him-in theaters across the U.S. Now Director Jonathan Demme has filmed it in a manner matching Grav's; it is expert in an innocent-seeming way

The writer-performer understands that a movie company working in the Third World is a colonial microcosm. Its technology is imperious in its imperatives; its largesse inevitably provokes all sorts of mutually exploitative muddles with the locals. This is a valid, if modest, insight, and Gray projects himself agreeably as a rational naif. But The Killing Fields took up themes far transcending show-biz silliness. It was about the 1975 fall of America's Cambodian client state to the genocidal revolutionaries of the Khmer Rouge. Gray's attempt to deal wryly with themes on this scale finally fails. His is a dispassionate sensibility. and he is not a strong enough actor-nor has he a strong enough intelligence-to fight his way out of the false analogy he has drawn between moviemaking and tragic history in the making. - By Richard Schickel

#### HEAVE

Heaven is the sweet punch line man has created for the end of his lifelong joke. To the interview subjects in Diane Keaton's documentary, it is even more. One of them says earnestly all people in heaven will be white, and a boy declares that you'll walk on cotton balls and eat pale food like marshmallows. And when you have sex in heaven, the offspring must be "little dead people," because you have to be gone to get there. A Salvation Army officer describes death as being "promoted to glory." Reunited with their life's loves, the elect will find pure ecstasy. "If I love you now like I do," says a man devotedly to his young son, "what's it gonna be like then?"

So much fine material, put to such shoddy use. Like Woody Allen's Zelig. Heaven raids archives for vintage film clips; like Warren Beatty's Reds, it calls on witnesses to describe and argue about its theme. But both sources are compromised by the directorial sneer. Keaton

rarely lets a remark or a film sequence run complete; instead she bends its intent to her skewed reading. The interviewes are photographed through cookie-cutout shadows, distracting the audience as well as the subjects. These are the techniques of a filmmaker short on trust, and the condescending tone rankles through out. Sitting through Heaven is like a painful promotion to glory.—R.C.

#### WORKING GIRLS

It hardly took the Mayflower Madam to alert the citizenry to the news that genteel women had taken up prositution. French films had the story 20 years ago: Luis Buhuel's Belle de Jour and Jean-Luc Godard's Two or Three Things I Know About Her spoke of suburban housewives who supplemented their allowances by turning.



Cool call girl: Smith at mirror in Working

tricks. The twist in Lizzie Borden's new film is that its call-girl protagonist Molly (Louise Smith) uses her earnings to support her half of a leshion relationship.

Even with its carefully tatty pseudodocumentary air, Working Girls is not novel or shocking. Nor does it astonish in its insights. The transaction between a hooker and a john is not complex. The women are justifiably contemptous of their clients, who are mostly in wan pursuit of dismal flantasies. To imply that this is a paradigm of the male-female relationship is closer to feminist propagand than to home truth.

Sill, there is down-to-carthiness in the women's conversation between assignments. And Writers Borden and Sandra Kaye have created a memorable character in Lucy (Ellen McElduff), the Miss Manners of madams, compulsive in her record keeping and her insistence on tidiness and decorum. One can imagine Lucy succeeding as well in a more lawful haps and the control of the control of the conlary succeeding as well in a more lawful haps. In any case, McElduff achieves a level of very social commentary that the rest of the film only aspires to. — #8.5.

### Books

### **A Serious Image Problem**

BEING INVISIBLE by Thomas Berger; Little, Brown; 262 pages; \$16.95 MEMOIRS OF AN INVISIBLE MAN by H.F. Saint Atheneum: 396 pages: \$18.95

o become invisible, to move through the world unseen: it is a primal, universal fantasy. Most people who indulge it probably imagine the advantages that H.G. Wells' The Invisible Man expected from it, "the mystery, the power, the freedom." But novelists, those eternal spoilsports, keep pointing out the fantasy's downside. Wells' protagonist eventually despaired of himself as a "helpless absurdity" before being hunted down and beaten to death. Now two

tive processes will go unobserved, slipping into clubs and unoccupied apartments for sleep, never so much as clearing his throat at the wrong moment. "This," he reflects dryly, "was shaping up as a solitary sort of existence.

Ingenious though a lot of this detail is. Memoirs provides far too much of it. The chase, often gripping, also goes on too long, though the bond between Halloway and his relentless chief pursuer-the one person he can talk to and who truly

tice from the petty tyrants of quotidian life." One day he discovers that he can simply will himself, and anything he is touching, into invisibility and back again. This gift enables him to learn more than he wants to know about other people's private lives, but it cannot save him from messing up his own. He soon finds himself fired from his job and passively succumbing to sexual entanglements with a dopey ex-colleague and a predatory cocktail harpist who lives in a neighboring apartment.

In short, Wagner's invisibility, far from making him conspicuous, merely corroborates the fact that "he was already, and had been long since, invisible in the moral sense." When he decides to reveal his power to others, he has just as much trouble getting them to believe in



### **Excerpt**

The teller . . . was currently occupied with a man buying traveler's checks [Wagner] moved one foot and clutched out instinctively with his left, free hand: the latter found itself just below the seat of the teller's skirt, performing a grasp ... young woman emitted a steam-whistle shriek whirled around, her features gargoyled with indignation . . . and of course saw no one And now the guard arrived at the window, his revolver trained on the poor devil who had ordered the traveler's checks.





contemporary writers, an artful veteran and a clever newcomer, offer variations on the theme that are hardly more optimistic. Their central characters, while not quite killed, lose virtually everything else along with their visibility-jobs, apartments, girlfriends, respectability. Invisibility, these novels suggest, is a difficult and dangerous condition, and there is no fun in it. Except, happily, for

Memoirs of an Invisible Man is a flatout thriller, accurately described by its narrator-hero on the opening page as "quite genuinely exciting and superficial." Nicholas Halloway, 34, a bland, likable Manhattan securities analyst, is the sole survivor of a bizarre industrial accident that has rendered him utterly transparent. Terrified of the Government intelligence agents who want him for secret scientific study, he goes on the run. His invisibility, ironically, makes him conspicuous; he cannot drive, open a door or carry a newspaper without calling attention to himself. Survival depends on meticulously relearning to live everyday life in his strange new state, eating where his digesunderstands him-lends an intriguing psychological edge to the action. First Novelist H.F. Saint, 46, a Manhattan businessman, clearly knows his financial world and takes it none too seriously. Analysts, brokers, commodities traders are all wickedly caricatured, and in one of the book's most fascinating passages, Halloway's invisibility affords sweet revenge on the market's greed and phoniness. In need of untraceable income, he invents a paper identity complete with a valid Social Security number, opens a brokerage account on imaginary credit, then uses eavesdropped insider information to make himself a millionaire.

By contrast, the protagonist of Thomas Berger's Being Invisible cannot seem to invent an identity for himself on paper or in person; when he uses his invisibility. clumsily, to filch \$2,200 from the cash drawer of a bank, he is so consciencestricken that he returns the money before closing time. Fred Wagner, a copywriter for a mail-order catalog and a would-be novelist, is the sort of wimp whose wife of four years would leave him out of "contempt for his habitual failure to claim jushis unseen self as in his presence. "I'm sorry. Fred," says his bored doctor after Wagner has disappeared and reappeared before the man's eyes, "we just don't have time for any more shenanigans." Berger's sly theme: invisibility is almost beside the point. Character, not circumstance, is Wagner's dilemma, and a very funny and touching one it is. As might be expected from the author of such novels as Sneaky People and Neighbors, Berger surrounds Wagner with a gallery of vividly tacky secondary figures, notably a crude, egomaniacal sculptor named Siv Zirko, who is putting the make on Wagner's estranged wife. Significantly, the artist's smash-hit exhibition is just what the term implies; its centerpiece is a daunting replica of his erect phallus.

Both Berger and Saint have trouble finding an ending, and finally place their characters in the hands of extraordinarily sympathetic women-a pleasant fate but an improbable one. This is particularly disappointing in Being Invisible, if only because the book raises higher expectations than the straightforwardly commercial Memoirs. Berger has qualities that



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Saint as yet lacks, including a distinctive eye. His antihero Wagner, seeking some-body else's hith to validate his existence, at least conveys a sense that something more is at stake than a big movie sale. Saint's Halloway remains a see-through personality, dismissed even by his yuppie former friends as "never much on belief of any sort." With him and his adventures, as he himself says, what you see is what you get. —By Christopher Puterfield

### Mary, Mary

HOW I GREW by Mary McCarthy Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 278 pages; \$16.95

If Author Mary McCarthy, 74, seems in the mood to celebrate hereaft, she has probably earned that indugence. For the model of the model

Admirers of McCarthy's works and career will not mind the hubris that opens this book ("I was born as a mind during 1925, my bodily birth having taken place in 1912") and that keeps it moving ("I was an intellectual by the time I reached Annie Wright [Seminary]. And no one else was"). Newcomers are likely to be baffled. The author keeps dropping Edmund Wilson's name and opinions without volunteering until the end the information that the famous critic was to be her second husband. Of the photographs that accompany the text, three include McCarthy's younger brother Kevin, a well-known actor, who is never mentioned by name in his sister's narrative. Those who are not already in the know about the author's biography receive little encouragement to proceed.

Yet How I Grew is worth some effort. even from initiates. Beneath its self-congratulatory veneer, the story generates considerable poignancy and appeal. There is the little girl who takes a train trip from Seattle with her beloved parents to visit relatives in Minneapolis. Then her mother and father die, victims of the flu epidemic of 1918, leaving the heroine and three younger brothers orphaned into the harsh care of an aunt and uncle: "If I was beaten with a razor-strop for having won a prize in a city-wide essay contest, I had no need to ask myself why ... it was to keep me from getting stuck up-logical, given our position. And it was easy to find the cause of that; it was simply that our parents had died

After five grim years, McCarthy (but not her brothers) is rescued by her maternal grandparents and taken to live once again in Seattle. Her new home is spacious and comfortable. Her guardians make genile attempts to keep the headstrong girl in check: "My grandmother had statutory ages for everything, sixteen for boys, fourteen for real, non-ribbed slik. These restrictions du not keep Mary from losing her virginity during her sophomore year in high school.

year in high school.

By this time she is enrolled at an Episcopal boarding school in Lacoma, and it is
not sex but education that engages her
most passionate interest. She realizes
do girls whose sights are set on making an
appropriate marriage. "Our school could
not maintain an elite status socially while
offering anything like aerious education." But a few dedicated teachers prep
the ambitious girl, and she gets her wish,
She is admitted to Vassar. McCarthy
writes. "I prefer being a Puget Sound type
writes." I prefer being a Puget Sound type
hambers, though marrie, to Seatile in eight
hampen, though marrie, to Seatile eight

This story of making it into the citadels of sophistication is enlivened by the author's remarkable memory for scattered details: the seating arrangements of her eighth-grade class, the name of her grandmother's dressmaker, the home-



Mary McCarthy: writing as a mnemonic device

towns and secondary schools of her friends at Vassar. And the act of writing itself seems, to McCarthy, a mnemonic device. Her narrative is strewn with excited cries of discovery: "But stop! That cannot be true". .."But wait!". .."Hold on!" Such enthusiasm can become contagious.

The book ends with the author's graduation from college and a marriage, to a man nine years her senior, that she has already confessed will fail. The public years, her triumphs and skirmishes along the New York literary front, still lie ahead. On the evidence of this installment, McCarthy's friends and foes have good reason to anticipate her version of a tumultuous life.

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### **Bookends**

BLACK KNIGHT, WHITE KNIGHT by Gloria Vanderbilt Knopf; 299 pages; \$18.95



Long before Baby M. there was Little Gloria Vanderbilt, focus of the 1934 custody trial that, she now writes, "captured people's imagination very much the way a television series like *Dynasty* does in this present day." The sto-

KNIGIIT this present day." The story of Vanderbilt's public childhood was well told in Once Upon a Time. Part two of the autobiography also has its share of notoriety. At 17, the budding beauty leaves Aunt Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney's cloistered Long Island estate for an extended visit with her mother, Gloria Morgan Vanderbilt, in lively Beverly Hills. There she goes for older men, like the tall, dark and elusive Howard Hughes. She writes to a friend that she is to wed Van Heflin ("You've probably heard about him because he's a famous actor and he's going to be a Big Movie Star as soon as the movie he's doing now comes out"). But Mother V. pressures her into marrying Pat De Cicco, an undercapitalized Hollywood playboy who is tall, dark and abusive. Eventually the search for daddy leads to Conductor Leopold Stokowski, 42 years her senior. Gloria also holds hands with Orson Welles and spends some wee, small hours of the morning with Frank Sinatra. The armor of such black, white and occasional gray knights is not deeply penetrated. Vanderbilt is more absorbed in her younger self, which she encases in a shell of hard, polished prose. It is a stylish, though distinctly cool, portrayal of the realities of a fairytale life

GRACE: THE SECRET LIVES OF A PRINCESS by James Spada Doubleday; 346 pages; \$17.95



Said one former lover:
"She was so proper, people thought of her as a nun. But when we were alone together, she used to dance naked for me to Hawaiian music." Said the wife of Director Henry Hathaway:
"I have nothing good to girce... She had an affair with

say about Grace . . . She had an affair with my best friend's husband, Ray Milland. And all the time wearing those white gloves!" And when Prince Rainier asked David Niven who his favorite Hollywood conquest was, Niven answered, "Grace."

The big secret that Celebrity Chronicler James Spada has dug up is that Philadelphia-proper, convent-educated Grace Kelly had sex before marriage, apparently a lot. While putting her affairs in order, Spada in this sad, breathless biography writes endlessly about the "duality" of Kelly's personality (fire vs. ice, expression vs. repression), all in a turgid stream of psychobabble. People who want to find out if Grace Kelly was a sensuous woman need only see To Catch a Thief. They will satisfy their curiosity, and Grace will be allowed to rest in peace.

THE CELESTIAL BED by Irving Wallace Delacorte; 304 pages; \$17.95



It could happen to any best-selling author with 15 topical novels and more than a dozen other books bearing his household name. Irving Wallace has been overtaken by events. Put another way: Will anyone want to warm up to an

earnest story about sex surrogates in the age of AIDS? It is not a problem the author can duck: "Let me say frankly, you're in a high-risk job," Chief Surrogate Gayle Miller tells her team at Dr. Arnold Freeberg's sexual dysfunction clinic in Southern California. But comely Gayle loves her work, which is a hands-on approach to the cure of impotence and premature ejaculation. Turning her therapeutic techniques into fiction is akin to transforming back issues of Popular Mechanics into a TV movie. Wallace knocks together a certain amount of social and clinical fact and slaps on a flimsy plot. The climax? Gayle and Colleague Paul Brandon do it for real and give noisy sanction to the institution of the office romance.

BOLT by Dick Francis Putnam; 318 pages; \$17.95



French Businessman Roland de Brescou and his wife Princess Casilia are threatened with violence because he refuses to grant an unscrupulous partner permission to manufacture an all-plastic handgun that could pass

undetected through airport scanners. The stakes are raised when two of the princess's racehorses are found shot between the eyes, "their bodies silent humps, all flashing speed gone." In his 25th novel, best-selling Mystery Writer Dick Francis sets Steeplechase Jockey Kit Fielding on the trail of the killer. As adept on a racecourse as he is in an Eaton Square drawing room. Fielding is a match for any menace. The villainous characters in Bolt are thoroughbred nasties, while the valorous, like the princess, use "civilized manners as ... a shield against the world's worst onslaughts." In racing circles, a win and a "nice ride" cannot always be achieved together. In mystery circles, Francis again demonstrates that he is both a win and a nice read.

What do you give the man who plays on your side, collaborates in all your corres, and makes the pair of you an invincible team?



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### Education

### **Not Gunmen, but Smarties**

A "mean" principal turns around a tough Detroit school

The scene at Detroit's sprawling, gritty Red-ford High School seemed like a real-life replay of Blackboard Jungle. Throngs of students, some armed with knives, roamed the graffiti-covered halls, smoking marijuana, playing touch football and frequently fighting. Only about half the mostly black student body of 2,800 showed up for classes on any given day. The school's administrators had lost control. No wonder a monitoring commission set up by a federal court described Redford as the worst high school in Detroit.

That was before Joe Greene arrived three years ago to take over as principal

Greene, a soft-spoken Mississippian with 18 years in the Detroit school system, four of them as principal of another problem high school, had a nickname-"Mean Joe Greene," after the Hall of Fame pro-football star. He showed right away that he was prepared to live up to it. Among the stiff rules he began enforcing: three unexcused absences would mean suspension. each subsequent truancy would mean another suspension, and after three suspensions, a student would be transferred out of Redford. "I've heard a lot about Redford, basically all bad," he told the students. "We're going to try to change all

that, with your help. Now I know some of you won't do that. The rules are for you.

Two weeks later Greene and his staff made a surprise sweep of the corridors, rounding up 400 students who were loitering after classes had begun. All of them were suspended and sent home with letters requesting that their parents meet with Greene before the students could be allowed to return. In his first semester. Greene handed out 2,000 suspensions and ordered 100 transfers. Students got the message. By the end of Greene's first year, classroom attendance had risen from 56% to 85%. With a measure of order and calm restored, Greene went to work on academics. In 1985 he canceled Redford's football season because 17 of the



a 2.0 grade average. He began a program of accelerated classes for students who wanted them, holding periodic honors assemblies to recognize their achievements, with parents invited

Today many students who left Redford for parochial or other schools have transferred back, swelling enrollment to 3.450. The school's once moribund parent organization has grown from ten members in 1984 to about 50. Greene, says English Teacher Janet Bobby, "built a structure around the school so everybody could be free." Although students have complained incessantly about Greene's disciplinarian ways, and in February tried unsuccessfully to stage a protest, many take pride in the school's new image. Says Junior Natalie Bien-Ami, 16: "We're not gunmen, we're smarties.

Despite Greene's growing reputation throughout the Detroit system, city school officials have not entirely approved of his approach. Ousters for absences or rowdiness. they argue, are too severe a punishment for students who may have deeper social and psychological difficulties. They bring their troubles to school," says Junious Williams, director of the Detroit public schools' office of student code of conduct. "When you suspend a kid for not attending, it really doesn't resolve the problem." In 1984, in effect rebuffing Greene and other principals who were employing similar tactics, the school board in its redrafted

student code removed truanschool's 26 players had failed to maintain | cv from the list of violations and began ordering transferred students to be returned to their original schools. Greene remains opposed to such returns.

Furthermore, the board now requires Greene to run his school under restricted rules. For example, Redford students can be sent home for three to five days for loitering in the halls, but they may no longer be transferred for repeated offenses. Students who are violent or commit crimes can be suspended for a semester only if Greene has shown that he has used all his support and counseling services. Greene argues that leaving such

students in the schools forces principals to create a prisonlike environment in order to protect the other students. "When you say to an educator. 'You're going to have to teach those children who are constantly disruptive," he says, "my question is, 'At what cost?" A better solution. Greene believes, would be alternative schools for unruly students.

Although he has made striking progress at Redford, change is clearly not coming fast enough for Mean Joe Greene. "School has got to be a better place than the streets," he insists, "For some young people, it may be the only place where they have some sense of structure in their lives. If we don't provide it, who will?" -By Barbara Dolan/ Detroit

### "Civility" for Dartmouth

As president of Dartmouth for the past six years, says David McLaughlin, part of his job has been "to make the students and the faculty somewhat uncomfortable." He may have been too successful. Al-

though the former president of the Toro manufacturing company has more than doubled the college's endowment, his handling of antiapartheid protests and a conservative student newspaper drew sharp criticism. Moreover, many faculty members resent his tough management style and lack of academic experience. In October, McLaughlin disclosed he would step down.

Last week Dartmouth's board of trustees announced an "almost perfect" replacement: James Freedman, 51. president of the University of Iowa and a former dean of the

> Pennsylvania Law School, Freedman's tone seemed promising. Issues should be debated in a "climate of civility," he said, which should include "tolerance of maddeningly different points of view.

University of



### Art

### Out of Grime, a Domain of Light

Cleaning the Sistine Chapel reveals a new Michelangelo

he most ambitious and controversial art-restoration project of the 20th century, the cleaning of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, is in its eighth year, with five years still to go. All the wall lunettes and three of the nine Old Testament scenes on the ceiling are finished. freed of 478 years of accumulated grime, crude repaints and successive coats of darkened glue size applied as a varnish by 17th and 18th century restorers. A quite different Michelangelo, one whose intensity and beauty of color matches his long-acknowledged grandeur as draftsman and iconographer, emerges. The vault of the Sisting is now the domain of light.

There is no gain without a sense of loss, however temporary. An equation between the ceiling's darkness and the profundity of Michelangelo's mind is old and runs very deep. To find such a father figure decking himself, as it were, in azure, malachite green, rose, yellow, lavender and pink, in the silky and atmospheric sheen of colori cangianti, or shifting colors, is disorienting; one is still apt to think of color as a feminine rather than a patriarchal attribute. One may recoil, feeling that it is somehow better to embrace the frescoes we know than the ones Michelangelo painted. And given the torment inflicted on great paintings by restorers over the years, one may be suspicious of all cleaning

Hence the controversy that has risen over the past few months as the Vatican's head restorer, Gianluigi Colalucci, and his team on the scaffold move toward the cleaning of the most famous image in Western art, Michelangelo's Creation of Adam.

The most convinced antis are James Beck, head of the department of art history at Columbia University, Alexander El.

ot. a former art critic of TiMe, and Aleston at the convention of the Columbia University of the Columbia Columbia of the Columbia Columbia of the Columbia Columbia of the Sixtine Columbia and the Columbia and Columbia Columbia

Fresco is the most durable kind of pating known. It is done in water-soluble pigments on freshly laid sections of damp plaster—the intonaco. When the plaster dries, the color is literally bonded in. Further touches may be put on a secoo,



The prophet Joel, before and after: Did the artist paint the darkness?

on the dry plaster. The antis believe that some of the darkness of the Sistine ceiling and lunettes was put there by Michelangelo himself, in a dark wash of black pigment in glue size, brushed on after the fresco was dry to give more density to the figures and atmosphere to the space. They think this wash is being "indiscriminately" swabbed off along with the dirt. Beck claims that Colalucci and his team, who have done nothing but study the Sistine for the past eight years, have still not studied it enough; and that the cleaning agent. AB-57, though used for cleaning fresco and stone since the early 1970s, is still insufficiently tested. The antis also decry the new look of the frescoes as "thinly, monotonously mannerist," flat and misleadingly "modern" in color So much noise has been raised against

the cleaning that it comes almost as an anticlimax to discover that most experts on Renaissance art, and on Michelangelo in particular, strongly endorse it and reject out of hand the antis' allegations of haste or insufficient study. The scholars and restorers who have visited the scaffolding seem to agree that the extreme care with which the work proceeds, the

constant testing, the minute adjustment of the strength of the solution to the chemical and stratigraphic analysis of each portion of the fresco, is very far from the absurd impression of the restorers that the antis give in their more rhetorical moments, almost as if they were a gang of purblind pedants swiping at the ceiling with mops and Easy-Off.

Last week a further vote of confidence came from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, a long-established nonprofit organization concerned with the care and preservation of Italian art. Six of the world's leading conservators of Italian painting (including John Brealey and David Bull, the head painting conservators at New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art and Washington's National Gallery of Art), having inspected the frescoes at the foundation's behest, reported in an open letter that the "new freshness of the colors and the clarity of the forms on the Sistine ceiling, totally in keeping with 16th century Italian painting, affirm the full majesty and splendor of Michelangelo's creation.

What weakens the antis' case is that they have not produced clear physical or documentary evidence that any of the glue and lampblack on the Sistine was put there by Michelangelo himself. James Beck Condivi, a Remaissance biographer, about Michelangelo applying "so to speak, the ultima mano" (final touches) to the mighty fresco cycle; but Condivi did not say what with the condition and the condition arists is a fundamental source on the Sistine, describes how "Michelangelo desired to retouch some parts a seco. painting a marine, and ornaments in gold." But he marine, and ornaments in gold." But he

was prevented by Julius II, who wanted his chapel finished on All Saints Day, Nov. 1, 1512, at which the artist dismantled the scaffolding and reluctantly declared the job done. Thus the aim of this ultima mano. this finishing off, would have been not to make the colors more tonally somber, as the antis suppose, but actually to make them brighter.

The pros also point to Michelangelo's ethic, so to speak, of fresco. Before he began work on the Sistine, Michelangelo knew all about the humiliating mess Leonardo da Vinci made by painting on walls with un-

tested brews of oil, water and varnish bases, which began to come off almost as soon as they were put on. Though Michelangelo grouched about his immense Sistine task, there is no question of his mastery of pure fresco, which he had learned in Florence in 1488 from his master Ghirlandaio.

Giulio Carlo Argan, doyen of Italian art critics, believes Michelangelo took the Sistine as an opportunity of asserting the power of what his rival could not do: "Michelangelo, who was always in competition with Leonardo, wanted to reaffirm the traditional buon fresco technique. The Sistine is that affirmation." True fresco did not include the use of glue sizing and dark washes a secon "No other fresco painter applied such a glue," says Head Restorer Colalucci, "so why should Michelangelo have done so? He knew very well that the final result could not have lasted long. To suggest that he gave his fresco a glue sizing is an insult to his technical ability. A fresco artist studies colors and their relationships, and balances them correctly so that they have unity from the moment they are applied."

Does this mean that Michelangelo did

not retouch at all? Of course not. Nobody thinks that even Michelangelo could have got every passage of color and shade in the thousands of complex forms that make up the scheme of the Sistine right with the first layer of color on each. The Serpent coiled around the tree in the Tempatation of Adam and Eve. for instance, far from being the more or less monochrome reptile of old, reveals the

bland reagent. The fear that the cleaning has taken off any of Michelangle's a ser-co passages seems unfounded. Accordings to Colalucci, these retouchings on dry plaster by his hand have all been identified. In restoration, each is isolated by a waterproof acrylic resin; the surrounding area is cleaned with AB-57; then the resin is taken off and the passage is cleaned with solvents that do not contain water.

The Vatican has certainly made some blunders in presenting this work to its audience. It should have allayed suspicions of haste by fully publishing its scientific analyses of the ceiling, its problems and

its techniques of restoration. It was stupid to spring the cleaned lunettes on the public in 1984 under the killing glare of television wattage; that kind of lighting would make even Michelangelo's sculpture look flat. Iet alone his frescoes.

But in the end, the proof is in the eye. Michelangelo did not design for electric light. It is the uncleaned two-thirds of the ceiling that needs spotlights to render its mighty forms visible through all the murk. The cleaned areas can be seen clearly by natural daylight, as Michelangelo meant them to be, from the floor 68 feet in the control of the cont

below. The forms have lost none of their "sculptural" definition, their nobly volumetric quality; instead, they have gained in modulation through the cleaning. Some doubts remain—about the efficacy, for example, of the Vatican's plans for crowd and atmospheric control: as many is 18,000 people flood through the Sistine 18,000 people flood through the Sistine pressing figure (who sees what, under such circumstances?) can only swell bringing more pollutants with sufficient programment of the programment

principle of the cleaning and the care with which it is being done deserve support. You cannot preserve the monochrome Sistine that misled generations of visitors to Rome, including some of the best painters and art historians in the past 200 years, and still respect Michelangelo's intentions.

—By Robert Hugbes.

—By Robert Hugbes.

Despite these and other worries, the





Detail showing restored gold curl that had been overpainted as cloth

most delicate complexities of feathered stroking in gene and yellow over reddish tones of shadow. The slow drying of the intonace gave Michelangels all the time the needed to correct his shadows without having to use the washes of black pigment having to use the washes of black pigment with shadows. And because his retouching was chemically integrated with the plaster, there is no reason to suppose that

the solvent AB-57 would remove it

The antis make much of the fact that AB-57—a dilute solution of ammonium bicarbonate, sodium bicarbonate, a fungicide and gelling agent in water—has been used for cleaning stone. But on stone it is left for between one and 24 hours and is strengthened by the disodium salt of EDIA, a substance that aids in the removal of calcium compounds; on the Sistine frescoes it is used in a weak solution, in varying applications lasting at most three minutes. It is an efficient solvent but a









Steps of the process: achieving a freshness and clarity that affirm the majesty and splendor of the original work

### Video

### Ranting, Raving, Doing the Dishes

A new group of offbeat comics thrives on cable

S tepping in front of a live ausure-packed moment for any stand-up comedian, but no one seems to handle it worse than Bob Goldthwait. Ween'ng the tween what appears to be incapacitating stage fright and drug-induced hysteria, Gold-thwait delivers his lines in a choked, trembling voice that regularly erupts into shrieks of agony. Thank you very

thank you very thanaarrrrgggnhhh!" were the first words from his mouth in a recent HBO special taped at Manhattan's Bottom Line. Two or three more half-finished sentences followed, then an angry shout of defiance: "I never masturbated in my life."

"Crazy time" is what Johnny Carson calls it when the
comedy gets a bit weird on the
Tonight show. But the real crazies rarely make it to Carson's
stage. Goldthwait did have one
Tonight appearance a year ago,
when Joan Rivers was guest
host, and some of his offbeat
contemporaries can occasional-

ly be seen in such hipper network venues as Late Night with David Letterman and Saturday Night Live. But increasingly, the showcase for innovative comic talent is cable, the Off-Broadway of TV comedy.

Cable's pay channels—primarily HBO, Showtime and Cinemax—early on discovered comedy as a fertile source of original programming. With no network censors to contend with, stand-up comics had virtually free rein in language and subject matter. Comedy concerts featuring everyone from Rodney Dangerfield to Eddie Murphy quickly became sta-

ples of the cable schedule. Comedy series inevitably came next. Some, like Showtime's Brothers and HBO's 1st & Ten, have been only marginally different from routine network fare. But HBO's Not Necessarily the News, now in its fifth year, offers welcome dollops of topical (if frequently toothless) political satire. Freshest of all is the engaging It's Garry Shandling's Show on Showtime, an unexpected hit that has just won a renewal for three more years. Meanwhile, the Cinemax Comedy Experiment has served as the umbrella for an array of inventive comedy specials. The best so far this year: Chris Elliott's Action Family, which skewered the clichés of two





host, and some of his offbeat Goldthwalt on the border of hysteria; Shandling in his sitcom home

TV genres, private-eye dramas and sitcoms, by yoking them into one ludicrously mismatched half hour.

The budding stars of cable's alternative comedy scene, however, are a new group of performers who are pushing the limits of the stand-up gener. Traditional stand-up comedians, from Alan King hrrough Jay Leno, have usually presented themselves as normal folks, people like you and me who happen to have funny things to say about dating or television or life in New York City. The new gang ap-



Kinison works up to a screaming tirade in his HBO special Pushing the limits of the stand-up genre.

pear onstage as determined misfits sometimes menacing, sometimes pathetic, always glaringly out of place. One of the quirkiest is Emo Philips, 31, a waiflike creature with a Prince Valiant haircut

who floats onto the stage like some fugitive from Mother Goose and talks in a limp, languorous singsong. The star of a recent HBO concert, he shows a fondness for whimsical a basurdities ("I'm not as good a swimer as I used to be—thanks to evolution"), but his material is not quite strong enough to overcome the monotony of his presentation.

Monotony is a danger, too. with Goldthwait. But his zonedout stage character wears better than Philips', both because it has more psychological resonance and because it functions organically as part of his comedy. Goldthwait, 24, who has appeared in the Police Academy films and in Burglar with Whoopi Goldberg, packs a whole analyst's couchful of anxiety, fear, anger and guilt into one sweating, simmering package: the comedian as psychotic. "I can legally kill anybody I want." he announces at one point. "I really don't think there's a court in the world that wouldn't say I was insane at the time of the crime.

Not that Goldthwait's material is tought subtlerate raving. In his latest HDO concert, Share the Warmh, he offered upmgest comments on everything from Iranscam to Lucille Ball (\*A 75-year-old hard transcam to Lucille Ball (\*A 75-year-old hard transcam to Lucille Ball (\*A 15-year-old hard transcamped), as the subtle subtlement of the subtlement of the hard transcape to you're also give his pales autobiographical asides. "I lost my job," he whimpers. "No, wait I didn't really lose my job. I mean, I know where my job is all. It signs when I got there, there's this is still. It signs when I got there, there's this is still. It signs when I got there, there's this behind the subtlement of the

Sam Kinison, another exponent of the new school of "maniacal comedy," could be Goldthwait's evil twin. Like Goldthwait, Kinison depends on high decibels for laughs; his routines build into angry punch lines delivered as piercing screams. But where Goldthwait is a demented child, Kinison, who drapes his pudgy frame in the seedy overcoat of a Times Square flasher, is a depraved adult, fuming over the indignities visited on him in the Reaganite, feminist '80s. A former Pentecostal minister who grew up in Peoria, Ill., Kinison, 33, specializes in foulmouthed tirades on sex and religion. Several of his lines had to be blipped from a Saturday Night Live appearance last fall, and HBO was concerned enough about Kinison's raw language to reschedule the debut of his new special, airing this week, partly to avoid having it fall during Easter weekend.

Though Kinison stretches the bounds of good taste, his bombast can be furiously funny. His rantings against women, for instance, may outrage some, but they are a cathartic antidote to cool vuppie relationship-speak, brazen in their sheer excess. "I'm not worried about hell." he says, "'cause I was [exploding into a shout] married for two f\_\_\_\_ years! Hell would be like Club Med!" A stint at the piano for a song to his ex-girlfriend turns into a string of obscenities ending with "I want my records back!" His blasphemous accounts of the Last Supper and the Resurrection are startling reminders that even in the post-Lenny Bruce age, comedians still have the power to offend

After a trip through the psychic recesses of Goldthwait and Kinison, Garry Shandling's mild-mannered neuroticism seems downright healthy. Indeed, the easygoing Shandling, 37, is at least one cable star who is equally welcome on Carson's Tonight show, where he frequently fills in as guest host. His Showtime series looks at first glance like a familiar network sitcom, with trivial plots revolving around Shandling's problems with his neighbors, girlfriends and mother. The difference is that Shandling never lets the audience forget that it is all a TV show. He appears at the start of each episode to explain what will happen, makes frequent asides to the camera and discusses the "moral" with cast

members at the end. In the middle of the show he might tell the crew. "Why don't you guys just cut to the next scene, and I'll meet you there, 'cause I'm gonna walk." Even the opening theme song is about nothing but itself: "This is the theme to Garry's show/ The opening theme to Garry's show This is the music that you hear/ As you watch the credits '

Emo Philips Breaking television's "fourth wall" to talk to the camera is hardly a new idea; it dates back at least to Burns and Allen in the early '50s. But no TV show has ever provided such piquant Pirandellian commentary on the medium itself. On Shandling's Show real life is indistinguishable from TV life-and both look pretty silly. A guest star, Rob Reiner, unexpectedly drops by for one episode, but Garry can't find anything for him to do. So Rob washes the dishes while Garry does his laundry. "On this show," Shandling observes, "ironing can be like a car chase." After a few evenings with Shandling and his cable compatriots, going back to the car chases could prove difficult. -By Richard Zoglin



Conrad and Travanti in the show's early days: "This one never went downhill"

### Hill Street, Hail and Farewell

A groundbreaking show heads for its final roll call

dictable, Hill Street Blues would have had a short life as one of the medium's more notable flops. Despite critical praise. the unorthodox police show settled near the bottom of the ratings after its January 1981 debut. But NBC renewed it anyway and then watched a remarkable success story take shape. First came a passel of Emmys (eight after its first season, a record-breaking number for one series; 26 all together), then a growing corps of dedicated viewers. People who claimed to watch little else on TV would tune in faithfully for the intricate and often explosive drama that swirled around a bustling inner-city police station. Last week, however, a closing notice went up at the station house as Hill Street Blues, after seven seasons, was canceled.

The move was expected. Hill Street's ratings have been a downward slide, and last December the series was uncernonicusly evicted from its longtime Thursday-night time slot. Several cast members, including Daniel J. Travanti (Captian Frank Furillo), had said they would leave after this season. The show's producer, MTM Enterprises, was reluctant to continue churingio cut the expensive hourdong episodes (average cost §15), and the continue of the continue of the expensive hourdong episodes (average cost §15). The million, "There was no filancial reason million," There was no filancial reason million," and eartherically nothing left to prove."

Few shows have proved so much. From the start, Hill Street's gifty, teeming visual style (created in part by shooting with hand-held cameras) set it apart from anything else on TV. Its cops were not macho superherees but flawed men and women with interesting lives both on structure (copied by such successors as St. Etsewhere and L.A. Law) was unusually complex, interevairing a dozen or so ma-

f TV programmers were always predictable. Hill Street Bluer would be dictable. Hill Street Bluer would be dischable. The street Bluer would be dischable and a short life as one of the medium's ore notable Blops. Despite critical praise, the unorthodox police show settled near solution of the ratings after its January size of the street bloom and the street bloom

> The series survived many traumas and changes, from the death of Co-Star Michael Conrad (who as Sergeant Phil Esterhaus opened each episode with its trademark roll call) to the 1985 departure of Steven Bochco, the show's co-creator, fired after reported disputes over cost overruns. Yet new characters (like Dennis Franz's choleric Lieut, Buntz) and continued good scripts (including one this season by Playwright David Mamet) injected fresh life. "This one never went downhill," says NBC Entertainment President Brandon Tartikoff. "It's like a ballplayer: you want to see someone go out a winner, like Sandy Koufax, instead of dropping fly balls in left field."

> Hill Street's last episode, airing on May 12, will offer no farewells but a couple of noteworthy plot twists: a fire nearly destroys the station house, and Buntz loses his job for punching the police chief. Franz's character may be back on NBC next year in a spinoff series called Beverly Hills Buntz, and several other cast members have series pilots and TV movies in the works. Meanwhile, viewers will be able to start reliving the glory days next fall when Hill Street reruns begin on local stations. Says Grant Tinker, former head of MTM and former chairman of NBC: "The program proved that you could do something artistically worthwhile and commercially viable at the same time. something both good and popular." The graceful end of such a show is no reason to sing the blues. -By Richard Zoglin. Reported by Elaine Dutka/Los Angeles

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The 900 is also a very safe car, (according to the Highway Loss Data Institute, the safest in its class based on overall injury claims). Yet far from a stodgy car to drive. The reason being that many of the features Saab engineers like to describe as "active safety" systems—the car's balance, its rackand-pinion steering, front

and rear stabilizer bars and front-wheel drive (the system most drivers feel gives them the greatest sense of control under all conditions)—are the exact same things that make the car a positive blast to drive

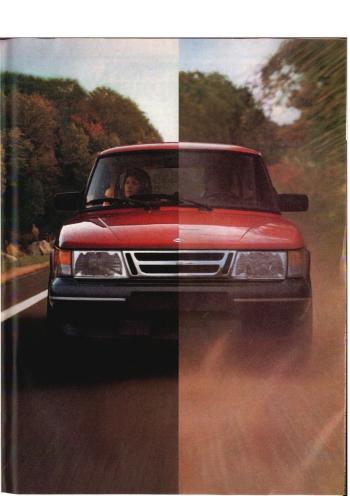
And while the Saab 900 would certainly be considered by most people to be a luxurious car, what with its orthopedically-contoured, adjustable seats. AM/FM Stereo Cassette sound system, central locking and a host of other power features, it remains a supremely practical vehicle. An automobile capable of transporting four full-size adult passengers, or with its seats down, up to 56 cu.ft. of cargo.

Of course, as you've already seen, there is something considerably more amazing which no other car can accommodate as comfortably as the Saab 900:

Both sides of the human psyche.

The most intelligent cars ever built





### **People**

"Everybody wants to be a superhero," laughs Dolph Lundgren, who, unlike everybody, actually looks like one. Last seen-and reviled-as Ivan Drago, the Soviet juggernaut in Rocky IV, the Swedish-born Lundgren has defected to the good-guy side for the role of He-Man in Masters of the Universe, which is scheduled for release this summer. Based on the enormously popular line of Mattel toys, Masters is described by its star as an "oldfashioned adventure movie with a clean-cut hero." He-



Mr. Universe: Lundgren as He-Man

Man's physique, however, is strictly state-of-the-art, thanks to four grueling months of weight training on a low-fat, high-protein diet. After all, says the 6-ft. 6-in. Lundgren, "He-Man is the most powerful man in the universe." Yeah, sure, but can he beat Rocky? "He-Man's a lig guy, and he's got a couple of particle-beam of the work of t

Few things irk Canadians more than signs that their Prime Minister is acting, well imperial. So there were murmurs of discontent last week when the Toronto Globe and Mail disclosed that Prime Min-

ister Brian Mulroney and his wife Mila had spent a princely \$308,000 (U.S.\$234,000), mostly in Progressive Conservative Party funds, to redecorate their official residences in Ottawa and nearby Harrington Lake. Nothing illegal was involved, mind you, but there was plenty of scorn for Mila, who reportedly requested pink paint for a room in the Ottawa residence. then changed her mind once the job was done and demanded that it be repainted beige. Mulroney, whose 21/2-year-old government has been beset by

scandals, insisted that the funds provided by his party should be viewed as loans that were being repaid. The PM had a bit more trouble with the disclosure that renovation work included two closets, one with space for 84 pairs of men's shoes and another with space for 100 pairs of women's shoes. The news prompted one opposition Member of Parliament to wonder whether former Philippine First Lady Imelda Marcos was perhaps coming to Canada for a visit.

They have long bedazzled the public with such pyrotechnic triumphs as their salutes to the 100th birthdays of the Brooklyn Bridge and the Statue of Liberty. Now "America's First Family

of Fireworks" is taking its slambang brand of sparklers on the road to 22 cities. Next month the Gruccis of Long Island, N.Y., soar off on a crosscontinental, summer-long traveling fireworks extravaganza. The electronically fired show, set to a potpourri of popular hits, features such eve-popping effects as "Swaying Leaves and Meteors" and "Butterflies with Crosses." (What counts is how they look, not what they're called.) The Gruccis' burning passion for streamers, rockets and shells traces back to their ancestral home in Bari, Italy. Four years ago, a horrifying factory explosion killed two of them, but the family has persevered. The tradition "has been passed down from generation to generation, from fathers to sons," explains Donna Grucci Butler, a vice president of the business. "Once it's in your blood, it's very hard to get out."

He could have stood there three more days trying and not have done it again. But Larry Mize, 28, banged his 140-ft. chip shot to the pin and dropped it the one time he needed to. Suddenly, everything was evergreen: the \$162,000 in prize money, the championship jacket and the memory of a shot that will be discussed afresh at 1 Masters tournaments ever after. As if that were not enough, Mize's shot won the play-off

from Greg Norman on the eleventh hole, right by the fence "I used to peak through when I was a kid," the native of Augusta, Ga., remembers. Five days after his first major victory. Mize was saying, "The excitement is still there. I'm still riding a high." His concentration was off at the pro tour's next stop, the Heritage Classic at Hilton Head Island, S.C. But even that didn't get him down. After being eliminated. Mize happily headed off to celebrate the first birthday of his son David. -By Guy D. Garcia.

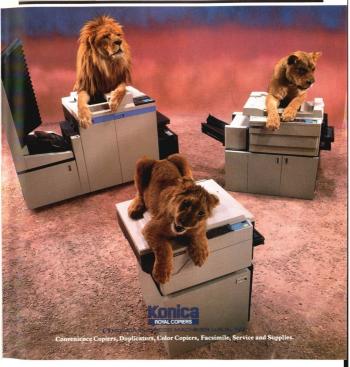


Dynamite dynasty: three Grucci generations ready to launch



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